

THE  
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR NOVEMBER, 1845.

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- Art. I.—1. *Die Reformation in Trier, (the Reformation in Trèves).* Bonn, Koenig, 1845. 8vo.  
2. *Notes on the Rise, Progress, and Prospects of the Schism from the Church of Rome, called the German Catholic Church, instituted by Johannes Ronge and I. Czerzki, in October 1844, on occasion of the Pilgrimage to the Holy Coat at Trèves.* By Samuel Laing, Esq. London: Longman and Co.

‘THE exhibition of the holy tunic of our blessed Saviour, at Trèves,’ says a correspondent of that honest and truthful Puseyite organ, *The English Churchman*, ‘has been made the occasion of an excitement as unprecedented as it was unexpected, and which has now lasted many months, and been attended with very momentous and lamentable consequences. It has called forth a new reformer, a ‘second Luther,’ the founder of a new sect. RONGE and the German catholic church is the theme that fills every mouth. From the Baltic to the Alps, in the royal palaces of Dresden and Berlin (we may safely add Vienna and Rome), and in the humble cottages of Swiss valleys, in the lecture rooms of Königsberg or Bonn (and also in those of Berlin, Posen, Breslau, Freiberg, Tübingen, Dresden, Leipsic, Cracovia, etc., the greater part of which are Roman catholic universities), it is RONGE, who during the last six months has occupied the universal attention. Booksellers’ shops are filled with pamphlets, on the title page of which stands RONGE’s name: printshops are decorated with RONGE’s picture; honest burghers, who pride

themselves on being good protestants, and haters of priestcraft, smoke pipes on which are displayed RONGE's features ; writers of dull comedies insert a few allusions, or a song, in praise of RONGE, and the theatres are shaken with the plaudits of admiring multitudes.' Thus far the beginning of the truthful report of the correspondent of *The English Churchman*. And now for a few remarks of our own, on this excitement (as that paper has it), or on the deeply interesting and highly important religious movement in Germany.

At the first glance of the foregoing passage, we might be led to suppose that the religious commotion now prevailing throughout the whole of Germany, is of recent date ; and that the 'wonderful zeal for religious and doctrinal truth,' of which the Puseyite organ speaks, is the offspring of a mere whim, or sudden impulse. To suppose so, however, would be to commit a very great mistake. This religious expression of the public mind, is neither a thing of yesterday, nor is it in any degree affected, or artificial. Those who have been watching the under currents of opinion in Germany, are well aware that an earnest reaction against infidelity has been going on there for the last forty years, but more especially since the overthrow of Napoleon, and the restoration of peace to the nations of Europe. During the reign of Frederic the Great, and up to the beginning of the present century, the publications of Voltaire, Diderot, and their associates, poured like a deluge upon Germany. This laid the foundation of that lamentable aberration of the German mind, which is commonly known under the name of *rationalism*. Religious lethargy, — a dreamy state of repose, usurped the place of the pure and inspiring religion of Christ. The melancholy state, in which the Christian religion existed at that time in Germany, and its subsequent revival, furnishes another proof : that although an entire generation may appear lost to every right impression of religious truth, yet, when the crisis is once over, the Spirit of divine grace may rekindle the same with redoubled force and energy.

The regenerating process having commenced, other changes began to manifest themselves. With the religion of their forefathers also returned true learning, united, in very many instances, with a heartfelt and sincere piety. The miserable and superficial knowledge of the word of God, which previously had existed in Germany, thenceforth gave way to a sincere zeal and thirst for a proper understanding of the same. Religious societies were formed, learned institutions for the training of pious young men were founded, and able christian-minded men were appointed to instruct the nation in all things having a moral and religious tendency. Even in literature, the change was obvious,



in the tales and novels which were then introduced, for the first time, in every family circle, in order to promote the growth and well-being of religion. The excellent divine and preacher, Christian Sinthetis, was the founder of this useful species of novels.

But as it is in every other movement of the human mind, so was it in the one under notice; many of those who took an active part in it, as well as those who renounced their former errors, acted from mixed motives. Among such immense numbers, it is not surprising, that there should have been men, who were little inspired by real regard for religion, and whose motives were, in too many instances, of a somewhat questionable character. But widely as the various classes may have differed in their views and motives, and in the course by which they sought the re-establishment of the church of their fathers, on one thing they had unanimously agreed, viz., to renounce all those doctrines and principles which were at war with morality and the Christian religion. More especially was this the case with the protestant clergy, who became exemplary for their learning, strict morality, and sincere piety. But the reformation did not end here; for these clergymen having become a model for the members of every other religious sect, the Romish clergy, ever on the alert to perceive what affects the popular mind, were not slow in imitating them, and even associated with them, being too well aware, 'that these 'heretics' were on the whole, men of undoubted piety, and infinitely more learned than themselves. Some of these priests now became, in their turn, models for the members of their own communities, who, as a matter of course, not only zealously imitated their pastors, but even went a step or two further. They likewise formed societies for the purpose of studying the Scriptures, and the effect of such studies upon the minds of Romanists, as we may easily conceive, was strong and overwhelming. To most of them, the contents of the divine volume were entirely new—a complete revelation. Men who, from their earliest youth, had only known the Breviary, or some little tract in which the truths of Christianity were perverted and disfigured, and who, at a more advanced age, perhaps, were allowed to study only the Fathers, became gradually more familiar with that book which makes men 'wise unto salvation.' Hence their strong indelible impressions, hence also their earnest inquiries into the soundness of the foundation of their church. Here, then, we see already one grand cause of the present movement.

Although the power of the Vatican, with its briefs and bulls, anathemas and excommunications, had become greatly weakened since the time of LEO the TENTH, it proved, nevertheless, as yet too strong for the young and unfledged spirit of that Roman

catholic generation, and thus prevented any open and public display of its movements. But what the spirit of reform dared not to do openly, it did with more vigour and energy under the cloak of secrecy; and the head of the Gorgon, which it had neither the power nor the courage to attack openly, became secretly subject to a slow, yet sure decay, presaging speedy destruction; for as it is a principle in human nature to meet opposition by means of opposition, the neophytes adopted once for all, with eagerness and sincerity, the Bible, as their sole and surest guide in all matters connected with religion and the salvation of the human soul. Many of the injunctions of the Romish church, now appeared too evidently as mere works having their origin in the selfish motives of worldly-minded men, and therefore not to be endured. Auricular confession, for example, although considered in the church of Rome as an indispensable act of discipline, appeared to every enlightened Roman catholic as an intrusion on his most sacred rights, on the sanctuary of his conscience, which, therefore, ought no longer to be practised. Not less strong was the feeling regarding the withdrawal of the cup at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, a practice which the new students of the Bible speedily found was directly opposed to the express injunctions of the Founder of that institution. Again, the dispute about mixed marriages, which of late has greatly distracted the public mind in various parts of Europe, but more especially in Germany, had caused in the hearts of innumerable members of the Romish church, and above all, among those who were more or less affected by it, an insurmountable hatred towards the papal chair. Add to this the arrogance displayed of late by the Roman see, and the revival and progress of its odious old confederacy, the followers of Loyola, and we shall have named some of the most potent influences which have been at work in the production of the present religious movement in Germany, and thus in some degree explained, why so large a section of the Roman catholic church has fallen out with its aged and decrepid mother, and become her inveterate enemy. From the facts we have stated, it will be seen that the minds of the Roman catholic inhabitants of Germany were gradually excited, and prepared for the struggle in which they are now engaged. Inflammable materials of every description had been rapidly accumulating for a number of years, and only awaited the application of the destructive spark. Nor was the German national spirit, which had performed so mighty and important a part during the first reformation, behind-hand, or without its influence at the present moment. Once more that fervent spirit which had done so much for the cause of truth and humanity three centuries before, was again

ready to lend its aid, and to denounce, in the strongest terms, the ignominious Romish yoke by which the German mind was bowed down, and by doing so, it speedily brought the conspiracy against the papal chair to a crisis, during which, thousands and tens of thousands, have left and assailed the church, to which until now, they had been externally attached.

It very frequently happens in the economy of nature, that out of small and unimportant, or unsightly things, great and weighty results spring into life. Thus, for example, an insignificant seed becomes the parent of the lofty cedar; the noble oak, which braves the storms of many centuries, springs from the puny acorn. As it is with the tree, so is it also in a hundred other instances, more or less complicated, more or less awakening our sense of admiration and surprise, and especially so was it in the case under consideration. In religion, still more than in politics, the merest trifle has often become the secondary cause of most important consequences. A basin of soup is said to have brought Louis XVI. to the guillotine; and the barefaced sale of *unauthorized indulgences and remissions of sins*, by Tetzel, the agent of Leo X., in the markets and fairs of Germany, caused a revolution in the Romish church, which has emancipated rather more than one half of Europe from degrading superstition. How very strange, that after a lapse of more than three centuries, the same wretched imposture should have been repeated; and, as if to render the resemblance as striking as possible, how singular that the indulgence of 1844 should be precisely the same as, by virtue of a bull of Leo X., was granted in 1514. In what manner the new papal rescript was received, we shall presently perceive; but before we proceed any further, we must say a word or two respecting the hue and cry raised by the enemies of truth against the present movement. Sundry writers in this country as well as abroad, endeavour to persuade the public that this movement is merely the opposition of a few disobedient priests towards their ecclesiastical superiors, seconded by individuals of a similar disposition and mind. Now this is neither true, nor is it in the remotest degree probable. For what was it that procured for these priests a ready access to the hearts of hundreds, nay, of thousands and tens of thousands of the most impartial and enlightened Roman-catholics throughout the length and breadth of the land? Assuredly it was not owing to their having become unlawfully opposed to their superiors, and thereby made themselves liable to punishment; and still less could it have been because they had endeavoured to overthrow usages and institutions sanctified by age, and resting on a moral and religious foundation. It is rather because they



have uttered words and expressed ideas which touched a chord in the heart of their fellow-countrymen, and because they have said what others had already thought, without possessing the power, or wish, to give utterance to it. Had not a deeply-rooted perplexity, uneasiness, and dissatisfaction spread its roots and branches far and near, the few paragraphs of a newspaper, or the letter of an obscure priest to his diocesan, would never have produced so great a movement. And let it be remarked, that once fairly at variance with a church, between the system of which and their own conviction, there exists the most unequivocal dissension, and unable any longer to give it their earnest adherence, they take the only course open to honest-minded men. How very different the path they have adopted, from that pursued by the disciples of Pusey, and the other heads of Tractarianism, or quasi-popery, in this country! May we not also add, how typical of the two opposing phases of religious belief! In Germany we see a large body of men, who, on finding that their inward conviction is in opposition to the church of which they were members, at once act the part of honest believers in the doctrines they profess, and leave it; an act which deserves the praise and esteem of every right-minded man. In England, we see a number of clergymen, who, although conscious in their heart of their opposition and dislike to the church of England, and of the insufficiency of her doctrines for their spiritual wants, are nevertheless so very deficient in right principle, as to simulate adherence to the same outwardly, and continue to draw their emoluments from an institution that has lost their confidence, and towards which they act the part of traitors.

We have already said, that inflammable matter of every description was heaped together, and only awaited the spark and a favourable moment to cause a destructive explosion. This came from a part of the country from whence it was least expected. It came from Silesia, formerly belonging to Poland, but forming at present part of the country called Rhenish-Prussia,—and from the very centre of the Roman-catholic church; indeed, the whole movement had its origin chiefly in those very places in which an ignorant and intolerant priesthood had excited the mind of the nation; and that, too, not only in those countries and towns where the catholic population is mixed with the members of other Christian communities, but even in those where the inhabitants of every rank and class of society are purely Roman-catholic. The causes of this explosion or commotion were two. The one was, as we have already seen, another public sale of *plenary indulgences for ever*, and which was to be the reward of those ‘faithful’ believers who

would go on a pilgrimage to Trier, that is, Trèves, to confess their sins, and 'contribute something towards the repairs and embellishments of the ancient cathedral,'—just as Leo x. wanted German gold for the 'repairs and embellishments' of St. Peter's, at Rome. The other cause was the exhibition of a coat or robe without a seam, which is said to have been the identical coat worn by Jesus Christ, mentioned in the Gospel of St. John (chap. xix. ver. 23), 'Now the coat was without seam, woven from the top throughout.' With respect to the '*holy coat*' itself, this, tradition says, was given to the church of Trèves by Helena, the pious mother of the emperor, Constantine the Great, who, it appears, had obtained it whilst on a pilgrimage to Palestine. The sale of indulgences, as well as the exhibition of the holy coat, took place at the command of Dr. Wilhelm Arnoldi, bishop of Trèves, on the 18th of August, 1844. Previous to this a circular notice, dated Trèves, 6th July, 1844, and signed by the above-named bishop, as also by Von Müller, the episcopal vicar-general, had been issued. The purport of this circular was, 'that pressing requests having been made by the clergy and the body of the faithful, of the bishopric of Trier, the holy relic—that is, the coat without a seam of our Saviour, preserved in the cathedral of that ancient city,—would be exhibited for the space of six weeks, in order 'that the wish'—we here quote the most important portion of that remarkable brief, or circular—'of all those, who have the pious intention to make a pilgrimage to Trier, to behold and venerate the holy raiment of our blessed Saviour may be accomplished, and each may gain the entire remission of his sins, granted by Pope Leo x., dated January 26th, 1514. This pope, namely, with the wish that the cathedral of Trèves, which has the honour of preserving the coat without a seam of our Lord Jesus Christ, as also many other holy relics, may be distinguished by appropriate grandeur of establishment and magnificence of ornament—gives, according to the words of the above-mentioned bull, a full remission of sins, in all future time, to all the faithful going in pilgrimage to the exhibition of the holy coat at Trèves, who earnestly confess and repent of their sins, or at least have firmly resolved to do so, and, besides, contribute liberally to the proper decoration of the cathedral of Trèves, as recommended by the holy father, but which still remains imperfect from the end of the last century.' The above is a corrected quotation from Mr. Laing's '*Notes of the Schism from the church of Rome.*'

A promise like this, coupled with so rare a treat as the exhibition of the '*holy coat*' of our Saviour, was sufficient to attract great multitudes of the credulous and superstitious of the sur-



rounding country and neighbouring towns, who flocked in immense numbers to the holy city of Trèves. We need not dwell on the preparations for this great festival and its celebration, or on the incidents of the pilgrimage. For our purpose it may suffice to know, that the results were melancholy and awful in the extreme; that the most sinful and revolting idolatry was practised by more than a million and a half ignorant and superstitious Germans, who, at a given signal, prostrated themselves before the holy garment, worshipping it, by chanting and the singing of a hymn, beginning with the words, '*Holy coat, pray for us!*' and that these immense masses returned to their homes more corrupted, immoral, and depraved, than when they left them. Without entering into details as to whether the coat exhibited at Trèves was the genuine one,—for report says that twenty-one or twenty-two seamless garments, all having equal claims, are in existence—or how it has escaped the corroding tooth of time, the consequence of this exhibition, which formed the grossest outrage on Christianity, and was an insult to the human understanding, and the education of this nineteenth century, was fatal in the extreme to the Roman see and her falsehoods and mummeries. A letter from an obscure priest, named Johann Ronge, dated, October 1, 1844, was addressed to Dr. Arnoldi, the Bishop of Trèves. In itself, this letter, although written in a style of remarkable and passionate eloquence, contained nothing new—no peculiar, original, or extraordinary and important ideas. That it was not the coat, but the spirit of Christ, which ought to be searched after, had been said over and over again by pious and enlightened minds of all ages and countries. What was it, therefore, that caused this universal commotion? In answer to this question, we must ask in return: What was it that preserved untouched the celebrated ninety-five theses of Master Martin (of glorious memory) on the gates of the castle chapel of Wittenberg? What was there in these controversial points that wrested millions of human souls from a degrading superstition? For truly, in tenor and tone, these theses of Master Martin, of 1517, do not much differ from the letter of Master Johann, dated October 1, 1844, addressed to Dr. Arnoldi. Besides, what Ronge is to Luther, the latter was to Wicklif, Huss, Savonarola, and innumerable others who preceded him. We do not remember, or to tell the plain truth, we do not know, how long that document which was so dangerous to the public peace remained fastened to the gates of the castle chapel; but even now, after more than three centuries, we are surprised at the indifference and calm toleration of the magisterial authorities of those days, which suffered a paper to remain in its place which was evidently calculated to disturb



the public peace and unsettle men's minds. The enlightened portion of the members of the university of Wittenberg, as also those of the Roman catholic community at large, had already settled this point, and even expressed themselves openly and fairly, and felt as much disgusted with the abominations and enormities of Leo x. and the Vatican, and the tricks of Tetzels, as Luther himself, and were far from suffering themselves to be misled by the trumperies and foul artifices of Rome. Hence it happened, that Luther was only the mouth-piece or organ of the public opinions which prevailed in those days. He had the courage to express them publicly, and defend them before an emperor and a whole host of princes and lords. And thus, what has been said of Luther, may with equal truth and justice be applied to Ronge, his letter, and his fellow labourers. In his letter, which was addressed, not only to the bishop, but to all Roman catholics of Germany, both priests and laymen, Ronge says, addressing the latter:—' You have heard of what has sounded to our ears like a fabulous tale, that Bishop Arnoldi of Trier, has exhibited a garment called the coat of Christ. You have heard it, Christians of the nineteenth century; Germans, you know it; instructors of the German people and teachers of religion, you know that this is no invention, no fable, it is reality and truth. For, according to the last accounts, 500,000 persons have already made a pilgrimage to the relic, and every day brings thousands more, hearing and believing that this sacred coat has healed the sick, and worked miracles. The news of this has spread to every land, and is carried to every people, and some of the clergy in France, have asserted that they are in possession of the identical coat of our Saviour, and deny the authenticity of the coat preserved at Trèves. Indeed, here we may well use the saying, 'that he who loses not his understanding at certain things has none to lose.' ' He then denounces the festival as one of idolatry, and as an act unworthy of the Roman hierarchy. The latter he upbraids for impoverishing a people, who, by this journey, are prevented from attending to their domestic duties, who neglect the cultivation of their fields, the education of their children, and abandon their profession and daily labour. He proceeds to say, that the youth has been demoralized, and that by answering the summons to appear at Trèves, the path leading to superstition, hypocrisy, and fanaticism, had been opened to them. 'Many women and girls,' he goes on to say, 'lose their good reputation, their chastity, the purity of their heart, and destroy thereby the peace, happiness, and welfare of their family.' 'These were the blessings,' he continues, addressing the bishop, 'which the exhibition of your coat has showered upon our land. And the man who has publicly exhibited this raiment

(a thing made by the hands of men) for show and worship; who misleads the pious feelings of the credulous, ignorant, or suffering multitude, and thereby favours superstition and vice; who takes from the poor starving people the little money they possess; who exposes the German nation to the ridicule of the world, and who draws the dark and gloomy thunder clouds that are gathering over our heads from several other quarters, still closer together—this man is a bishop, a German bishop; it is Arnoldi, the Bishop of Trier.' And now addressing himself entirely to Dr. Arnoldi, he points out in the most eloquent language the mischief he had done to the country, the wrong he had practised on his credulous fellow countrymen, and the sin he had committed towards his God and Saviour. Justice would overtake him sooner than he expected. The historian had already taken up his pen,—to record these facts, to consign the name of Dr. Arnoldi to the opprobrium of all future ages, and to hold him up to universal execration as the Tetzels of the nineteenth century. Ronge then concludes this address with a few words to his fellow citizens, and to the priests his brethren, bidding them no longer be silent, but come forth and prove themselves true and faithful followers of Christ.

It is a singular fact, and one well worthy of notice, that there is no fraud so gross but will secure not only believers, but even resolute defenders. This has ever been the case, especially with the church of Rome, and its many money-making wonders. Abroad and at home we find men who zealously defend the grossest impostures ever practised on the credulity of Romish worshippers by the instruments of the papal chair. And hence there are also men in England who zealously defend the knavery practised at Trèves. Among the latter are many who style themselves reformed Christians—they abjure the term Protestant—and yet, who, in conjunction with a number of 'good Roman catholics,' would prove by analogy the probability, and even necessity, of worshipping every thing put forth by the church of Rome, as long as it has the sanction of the pope and his doctors. This party (*i.e.* the reformed Christian party) tells us that,—it is a practice, as common as it is natural, to preserve such objects as have been used by those whom we have loved and lost, and to contemplate them, from time to time, with pious veneration. Indeed, say they, we could hardly believe a man to have a faithful and affectionate disposition who does not treasure up some such memorials, however worthless in themselves, and make them the means of bringing more sensibly before him every circumstance connected with the departed, and of keeping up in his own breast that love, which, we well know, requires, while we are in the body, to be fed through the medium of the senses.

Such was the custom which Christians, in very early times, adopted with respect to relics of saints and martyrs, and now the church of Rome continues to employ the same instrumentally as one of the principal means for promoting a lively faith. Why, the Oscott oracle, Dr. Wiseman, could not speak in stronger or more 'catholic,' terms, than these reformed Christians ! The other party, following in the same track, says, — 'We treasure up daily, with uncommon care, the relics of our departed friends, the miniature, picture, lock of hair, the smallest trifle, which belonged to them ; and such treasures almost every family contains. At Greenwich Hospital the coat in which Nelson expired is religiously preserved ; and at Abbotsford is the entire dress worn by Sir W. Scott just before his death. All these things are shown to the public, which is invited to see them, and many, in order to enjoy the pleasure of seeing them, will not grudge to travel a little out of their path to see them, and even pay a gratuity. Now, this the world calls not grotesque or absurd, because the very sight of such things excites in the human breast the noblest and most pleasing emotions. And so it is with the holy coat. It is not *adored*, but only *venerated*, and this on account of him who wore it.'

This is jesuitical reasoning, and is uttered with much apparent candour. The parallel drawn between the coat of Lord Nelson, the dress of Sir W. Scott, and the holy garment of Trèves, is rather ingenious. But these 'good catholics' forgot to tell us whether the parties going to Greenwich to see the admiral's coat, cry : 'Holy coat, pray for us,' or whether the pilgrims to Abbotsford fall on their knees, exclaiming : 'Oh, sacred shirt, envelop us.' For our part, we are utterly unable to perceive any analogy between the cases, and are only confirmed in our belief that the absurd and sinful mummary exhibited at Trier, deserves the indignant denunciations which it has elicited from the modern German reformers, and which it continues to elicit from every honest and truth-loving mind. Again, 'History informs us,' these men continue, 'that the Empress Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, brought from the east the *identical* coat or garment worn by Jesus Christ during his passion, which she deposited at Trèves, where it was carefully preserved by the clergy during a number of centuries for the edification of the people,' etc. But these 'good catholics' have forgotten to tell us the remainder of this veritable history, viz. that this coat was woven by the Virgin Mary when the Redeemer was an infant, and that as he grew the coat grew also, never requiring any alterations or additions. This is also related, and no doubt as true as the rest. But there is another very curious circumstance connected with the sacred garment,



viz. that, during the middle ages twenty-two places or cities, among which were Constantinople, Bremen, and Cologne, claimed to be in possession of one and the same *identical* coat, and even England, if we are correctly informed, puts in her claim, for Edward the Confessor is said to have presented to the church at Westminster, in the year 1038, either the whole or part of the same garment. But we think that the strongest objection to the authenticity of the coat is the fact that two German professors, distinguished for learning and research, the Drs. Gildemeister and Von Sybel, both of Bonn, have examined this relic with the aid of the microscope, and found on it traces of the figures of birds and flowers, ornaments which were forbidden by the law of Moses, and which ought to convince the most credulous that it is not a Palestine production at all. How a garment of this description should be preserved for the space of eighteen hundred years, presents little difficulty apparently to these 'good catholics,' who deem it their duty to believe whatever their church affirms; to us, however, the whole affair is utterly incredible. But to return to the narrative of events.

The letter of Ronge to Dr. Arnoldi was soon followed by appeals, which he addressed to his fellow believers and fellow citizens, to catholic teachers, and to the inferior class of catholic clergy. All of these addresses breathe a spirit of resistance to the usurped authority of the hierarchy and the church of Rome, and all of them exhort the people to throw off a yoke which had become as degrading as it was unjust, and free themselves from the authority of the '*Italian bishop*,' as Ronge styles the pope. He then tells the clergy that they are the slaves of this man, and reminds them, that, in the first centuries of Christianity, bishops sought for no greater power than that which they now enjoy themselves, and that they were then content to sit in council with the chosen ministers of the people. In the darkest ages the inferior clergy had their synods, and, when acting in concert, the ability to make good their will. 'What have they now?' he asks, and then adverts to the unjust interference with the rights of man on the part of their spiritual opponents; to the unmarried state or celibacy of the clergy; to their recreant fear of their spiritual superiors, before whom their lips are locked, their souls cowed. From Ronge's address to the lower clergy it would appear that he did not at this time meditate an absolute secession from the church of Rome, although he urged in earnest and fiery language the necessity of an immediate breaking off from her overweening authority. Herein he strongly resembles his great predecessor, Luther, who wanted rather to free mankind from the evils and abuses which had stolen into the

church, than to abandon its doctrines. But Roman catholicism suffers no schism to exist within itself. Whoever denies the infallibility even of her rites and ceremonies, or discipline, belongs no longer to the holy mother church. 'It is to the lasting disgrace and shame of Rome,' says a powerful organ of public opinion, 'that she eagerly opens her portals to the gloomy night, but bars and bolts them against the smallest visitation of cheerful blessed light. Is it that a church doomed, mysteriously engaged to work out her own overthrow and ruin, can accomplish her mission only by becoming helplessly blind?'

Ronge's letter, as we have seen above, was dated October 1; but it was only on the 16th of that month that it made its appearance at Leipzig. And although it could not stop the proceedings at Trier, it was nevertheless read with eagerness by all classes of Roman catholics. Every newspaper in Germany, whatever its political and religious creed, contained large extracts from the spirit-stirring missive, and many individuals bought thousands of copies of it, and distributed them gratuitously among the lower and poorer classes. This letter had only made its appearance three days, when another mighty blow was struck at Romanism at Schneidemühl, a little town situated on the far distant frontiers of Posen, a district purely catholic. Here, on the 19th of October, the whole congregation, together with the priest, Czerski, raised the banner of freedom of conscience, and prepared themselves for spiritual warfare. This movement was quite unexpected, and is very remarkable, because it took place almost at the same time when Ronge's letter made its appearance. That it was not owing to this letter is evident from the fact, that this rising occurred about three days after the appearance of the former, during which time it could scarcely have reached Schneidemühl, situated as it is in so very remote a part of the country. Then was made public the 'Confession of faith of the Christian Apostolic-Catholic community of Schneidemühl,' which we here subjoin; as, also, certain articles of dissent from the church of Rome. It is well worthy of special notice, on account of its being the earliest in date, and because it has been referred to by subsequent congregations, who have either adopted it altogether or have formed their own confession in imitation of it. This interesting document runs thus:—

' *Schneidemühl, 19th October, 1844.*

'I. WE believe in one God, the Almighty Father, Creator of heaven and earth.

'II. We believe in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, who from all eternity was begotten of the Father, and is God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not created, of

equal nature and being with the Father, and through whom all was created, who for our sakes, and the salvation of man, descended from heaven, and by the Holy Ghost from the Virgin Mary assumed flesh, and became man; who also was crucified for us under Pontius Pilate, suffered, and was buried, but on the third day, according to Scripture, rose again, and ascended into heaven, where he sits at the right hand of God, and from whence he shall again come down in glory to judge the living and the dead. This his kingdom will have no end.

‘III. We believe in the Holy Ghost the Lord, who giveth life, who proceeds from the Father and the Son, who is to be praised and adored with the Father and the Son: who spoke through the prophets. We believe in the holy general (catholic) apostolic church. We acknowledge a baptism to the forgiveness of sins, and await a resurrection and a life in the future world. Amen.

‘IV. We receive the Holy Scriptures as the only sure source of Christian faith, and that in the sense in which they are intelligible to every enlightened pious Christian.

‘V. We acknowledge that by Jesus Christ our Lord seven true and proper means of grace (sacraments) are established under the new covenant, namely—1st. Baptism. 2nd. Confirmation (the laying on of hands with prayer). 3rd. The Holy Supper of the Lord. 4th. The penitence. 5th. The priestly ordination (the laying on of hands with prayer). 6th. Marriage. 7th. The preparation for death (extreme unction);—and that these impart pardon; and of these, baptism, confirmation, and the ordination to the priesthood, cannot be repeated without sacrilege.

‘VI. We acknowledge that the commemoration of the bloody offering on the cross of Jesus Christ, which is celebrated in the holy mass, may be of service to the dead, and the living; that in the all holy altar-sacraments, the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, with his soul and godhead, truly, actually, and in substance, are present, and that the whole substance of the bread is changed into the body, and the whole substance of the wine into the blood, through faith.

‘VII. We acknowledge that priests not only may receive the sacrament of marriage; but, to be worthy examples to the people, they ought, according to the Holy Scriptures, to receive it.

‘VIII. We acknowledge that the holding divine service, and in general the administration of sacraments in a foreign tongue, is contrary to Scripture; and that therefore the language known to the congregation ought to be used in divine service, and in administration of sacraments.

‘IX. We acknowledge that the holy sacrament of the Lord’s Supper ought absolutely to be received in both elements, and that the receiving the sacrament under one element only, is not sufficient for salvation.

‘X. A purgatory, such as taught by the Roman hierarchy, there is



not ; but there are ' in the house of our heavenly Father many mansions,' like steps towards beholding God. We acknowledge that these steps must be gone through by those who have not made themselves fully worthy here on earth to behold God ; and that on this ground our prayers may be serviceable to the dead ; but,

' XI. We acknowledge and firmly believe that Christ alone is the Head of the church, and his vice-gerent here on earth is the Holy Ghost.

' XII. In this true general belief, expressed through Jesus Christ, we, here present, acknowledge ourselves freely, and sincerely promise, vow and swear to preserve it, with the help of God, uninjured and unadulterated, to the end of our lives, with unbroken steadfastness ; and also to apply all possible care that this belief shall be taught, made known to, and held by those under us, or intrusted to our charge. So help us God and his holy Scriptures.

' Accepted at Schneidemühl, the 19th October, 1844.

' (Signed, etc.)'

From the preceding it will be seen that the ' Confession of Faith of the congregation at Schneidemühl' differs but slightly from what is called the Apostles' Creed, and that even the points in which they dissented from Rome, are argued with calmness and Christian love, every charge, moreover, being based on texts from the holy scriptures.

Ronge, who had been excommunicated soon after the appearance of his first letter, proceeded, in the meanwhile, to Breslau, where, after a mature and careful reflection, he established his first congregation on the thirteenth of February, in the present year. Here too, appeared very soon (16th of February, about three days after the formation of the congregation) a declaration or confession of faith, and articles, which had been drawn up by Ruprecht, Vogtherr, and Hoffrichter, all of them clergymen, who had dissented from the Romish church. Both documents are very important, inasmuch as they proceeded from the centre or capital of Silesia, the very place, where the whole movement had its origin. They, moreover, show the character and order of the church service as adopted first by this church in the city of Breslau, which has been distinguished as the stronghold of the Roman catholic hierarchy, and afterwards at the third sitting of the General Assembly of Leipzig, for the whole German catholic church. As it is our intention to present to our readers the most interesting and important of those confessions and articles of dissent which have appeared since the beginning of this movement, we shall subjoin them wherever it will appear necessary. The confession and declaration of the Breslau congregation, are as follows :—

*' Breslau, 16th of February, 1845.*

' I. WE declare ourselves free from the Roman bishop and his hangers-on.

' II. We assert full freedom of conscience, and detest all compulsion, lies, and hypocrisy.

' III. The foundation and the structure of Christian faith, is the holy Scriptures.

' IV. Its free examination, and exposition, no authority ought to restrain.

' V. As the substantial contents of our religious belief, we present the following form of it:—

' I believe in God the Father, who, by his almighty word, created the world, and rules it in wisdom, justice, and love.

' I believe in Jesus Christ, our Saviour, who by his teaching, his life, and his death, redeemed us from sin and bondage.

' I believe in the working of the Holy Ghost on earth, in a holy general Christian church, forgiveness of sins, and life everlasting. Amen.

' VI. We acknowledge only two sacraments as appointed by Christ:—1st. Baptism. 2nd. The Lord's Supper.

' VII. We retain the baptism of infants, receiving them, after sufficient education in religion, by a solemn admission, as self-acting members of our congregation.

' VIII. The Lord's Supper will be administered, after consecration to Christ, in both elements, to the congregation. The congregation receives it as a commemorative feast of the sufferings and death of their Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Auricular confession is rejected.

' IX. We acknowledge marriage to be an appointment of God, and therefore holy for man; and we retain the church ceremony of marriage. In relation to conditions and impediments to marriages, we acknowledge only the laws of the land as binding.

' X. We believe and acknowledge that Christ is the only Mediator between God and man. We reject, therefore, the invocation of saints, the veneration of pictures and relics, the remission, and pilgrimages.

' XI. We believe that the so-called good works have only a value in so far as they proceed from a Christian spirit. We reject, therefore, all fasts.

' XII. We believe, and acknowledge, that it is the first duty of a Christian to show his faith through works of a Christian spirit.

' XIII. The essential parts of divine service consist in teaching and edification. The mass will be celebrated in the language of the country, and according to the practice of the oldest churches, modified with a regard to the events of the age. The participation of the con-

gregation, and the mutual working between them and the minister, is considered an essential requisite in divine service.

'XIV. The divine service of the church, which is to be opened in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the Agenda, or, how the proceedings shall go on before the assembled congregation, for their edification, consists in the following pieces, spoken and sung :—

- '1. The commencing hymn.
- '2. General confession of sin (Confiteor).
- '3. Lord have mercy upon us (Kyrie).
- '4. The song of praise, 'Glory be to God on high' (Gloria).
- '5 The prayers of the Collect.
- '6. The Epistle.
- '7. The Gospel.
- '8. The sermon, with the usual prayers ; and before and after the sermon, a verse of a hymn.
- '9. The confession of faith.
- '10. A passage selected from the Passion, at the consecration of the holy supper of our Lord, instead of the canon of the mass.
- '11. The hymn, 'Holy ! Holy ! Holy !' (Sanctus ) During the communion the congregation sing the hymn, 'O Lamb of God,' &c. (Agnus Dei.)
- '12. The Lord's Prayer.
- '13. Concluding hymn of the congregation.
- '14. The blessing.

'XV. Besides this head service, in the afternoon will be catechising, or edifying discourses.

'XVI. We observe no festivals, or holidays, but those ordered by the law of the land.

'XVII. The foundation of a church constitution is the congregational constitution, according to the example of the primitive church of Christ.

'XVIII. At the head of the congregation is the minister, and elders, elected yearly at Whitsunday.

'XIX. The minister is chosen by the congregation, and inducted by a solemn act into his office. The election can only be from divines, who produce testimonials of their theological knowledge and unblemished character. The order for the celibacy of the clergy is annulled.

'XX. For the present, what is wanted to support the minister, and carry on divine service, will be defrayed by the members of the congregation, each contributing according to his means.

'XXI. All services of religion will be performed equally by the minister for every member of the congregation ; and all fees, or payments for such services, are abolished.

'XXII. The reception of new members into the congregation takes



place by acknowledging the confession of faith before the elders and minister.

‘xxiii. Members joining the congregation from religious societies not of the Christian faith, must first be admitted to baptism, after due instruction in Christianity.’

These declarations, or avowals of secession from the church of Rome, and confessions of faith, were soon followed by numerous others as open and determined. The first in order was that of the congregation at Kreuznach, a small town on the Rhine, celebrated for its mineral waters, and witness to the first miraculous cure of the young countess Droste-Vischering, one of the invalids that had gone on a pilgrimage to Trèves. It appeared on the 10th of February, 1845. The language of this congregation is bolder and more determined than that of the two others.

‘Kreuznach, 10th February, 1845.

‘WE, the undersigned, have resolved, from free choice and inward conviction, to establish a catholic-Christian church, unfettered by all human additions and deformities, pure in the spirit of the founders of our holy religion. The rock upon which this church is built stands on the ground of the sublime passage in the Scripture,

‘Love God above all, and thy neighbour as thyself.’

‘We consider, therefore, as abuses, through the work of man, and reject, in all time coming,—1st. The authority of the pope as head of our church. 2nd. Celibacy. 3rd. Auricular confession. 4th. The sacrament of the Lord’s Supper in one element, and Transubstantiation. 5th. The Exorcism at the baptism of infants. 6th. The prayers to the saints. 7th. The veneration of pictures and relics, and also pilgrimages. 8th. The Confirmation. 9th. The extreme unction. 10th. The Latin tongue in divine service. 11th. The nonsense of remissions. 12th. The doctrine of Purgatory.

‘i. We acknowledge only one Mediator between God and man, namely, our Saviour Jesus Christ.

‘ii. We retain the mass, after it is altered to the spirit of the Christian-catholic church.

‘iii. We acknowledge only two sacraments—Baptism and the Lord’s Supper.

‘iv. We consider the latter as a remembrance, or memorial feast, of our Lord Jesus Christ, and receive it under the words, ‘This represents, or shews forth, my body; This represents, or shews forth, my blood.’

‘v. We bind ourselves to provide for the wants of our church and school, until the state has settled our concerns. Each will contribute

to the good cause according to his power and good will. Other resolutions remain over for our common consideration, when the congregation has constituted itself, and obtained a suitable minister. And so may the spirit of love, truth, and light, penetrate and animate this Christian-catholic church, and guide, direct, and rule all her internal and external affairs.

*'Kreuznach, 10th February, 1845.'*  
(The signatures.)

About two days after, appeared the declaration of dissent and articles of faith, adopted by the congregation of Leipzig. It is dated the 12th of February, and is certainly of great interest, if not importance, inasmuch as it is the emanation of a congregation dwelling within one of the chief seats of the literature of Germany, and decidedly the centre of the material interests of literature. From its tone, it is evident that it has been drawn up in concurrence with that of Breslau. It runs thus:—

*'Leipsic, 12th February, 1845.'*

*'In the name of God the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,—We, the undersigned, declare hereby openly and solemnly, before God and men, that we acknowledge no longer the authority of the Pope at Rome in matters of belief.*

*'We declare ourselves solemnly free, from this day, from Rome and the Pope, and establish an Independent German-Catholic Congregation; and adopt as our own the annexed Confession of Faith of the German-Catholic Congregation at Breslau, until a general council, elected by all the members of the German-catholic churches, shall have settled a Confession.*

*'We assume the approbation of the higher state authorities will be given to this step, taken according to our convictions and consciences, and to obtain which, the necessary measures will be used by our elders.*

#### *'CONFESSIO OF FAITH.*

*'I. We renounce the pope, and declare ourselves free from the hierarchy.*

*'II. We abolish auricular confession also.*

*'III. We abolish the use of the Latin tongue in divine service.*

*'IV. We abolish celibacy, as not founded on the Holy Scriptures, but appointed by the pope, solely for upholding the hierarchy.*

*'V. Marriage is declared a holy ordinance, and the benediction of the church is held to be necessary thereto. For the rest, no other limitations on marriage but those fixed by the law of the land are acknowledged.*

*'VI. We abolish all hitherto existing church practices by which remissions, fasts, pilgrimages, lead to a nonsensical sanctification of works.*

'VII. The Lord's Supper, as it is established by Christ, will be taken by the congregation in both elements.

'VIII. The congregation acknowledges but two sacraments, Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, because in those only is Christ undoubtedly present, according to the testimony of Scripture.

'IX. Baptism is the sign of being received into the Christian bond; and is performed on infants with the understanding that at years of discretion they will confirm, by confession of faith, their baptism.

'X. The Lord's Supper serves for a remembrance of Christ, and a token of the brotherly bond between all.

'XI. The grounds of the Christian belief shall be only and solely the Holy Scriptures, and reason penetrated and moved by the idea of Christianity. The congregation adopts the Apostolic Confession of Faith as theirs, and places it as the object of the church and of individuals to come to a living acknowledgment of the same, suitable to their temporal convictions. In the different explanations and understandings of its meaning the congregation finds no ground for separation and condemnation.

#### 'SPECIAL PROVISIONS.

'XII. The congregation makes use again of its old rights to elect freely its minister and elders.

'XIII. Every minister will be introduced to his congregation and office by a solemn act; but in this everything will be avoided that can recall the sacramental meaning of the Roman consecration to priesthood, or could serve as a foundation for hierarchy.

'XIV. The congregation understands it to be the chief problem of Christianity, not only to bring to a lively conviction by instruction, teaching, and divine service, its members, but also, by active Christian love, to promote with all their power the spiritual, moral, and material interests of their fellow-men, without distinction.

'XV. The external forms of divine service shall always be regulated by the wants of the time and place.

'XVI. The reception into the congregation, after it is fully constituted, will take place, upon a declaration of willingness to join it, and acceptance of the Confession of Faith, by the elders making it known to the congregation.

'XVII. The Liturgy, and the part of the divine service belonging to edification, shall, according to the practice of the Apostles and first Christians, be adapted to the wants of the times.

'XVIII. The external usages in worship in the church are left to each member; only what leads to superstition is forbidden. The holy festival days appointed by the state, are alone observed.

'XIX. The congregational constitution follows the model of the Apostles and early Christians, but necessarily altered to suit the cir-



cumstances of the times. The congregation is represented by its minister, and chosen elders elected yearly at Whitsunday.

‘xx. All church duties, as baptisms, marriages, burials, will be performed by the minister equally for every member, without fees.

‘xxi. For the sake of unanimity, all those provisions, and also the Confession of Faith, shall be subject to the determination of a general German council, and are therefore only to be considered as pro tempore.

#### ‘CONCLUSION.

‘All these provisions are not settled for all time coming, but may be altered by the congregation according to the conviction of the times.’  
(Signatures.)

Nor was Elberfeld, the sphere of action of the late Krummacher, the celebrated author of ‘Elijah the Tishbite,’ behind-hand. This place is a manufacturing town of great importance, and is situated near the famous Düsseldorf. Its declaration, &c., is dated the 15th of February, 1845, and begins thus :—

‘In the name of God the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.

‘We, the undersigned burgesses of Elberfeld, belonged hitherto to the Roman-catholic church, and as members of it have long seen, with increasing distinctness, the greatness of the errors and abuses which adhere to her in most principles, and have taken the upper hand altogether in her latest movements. The more we endeavoured to know and understand the pure teaching of Jesus, and to ground our faith on the Gospel, the only spring of Revelation, the more deeply were we penetrated by the conviction, that Christ is the only mediator between God and man; that the doctrine of the Pope, of an infallible church, of the religious use of saints and relics, is not founded on the Word of God, and weakens the merits of our Saviour; that the ideas of the Roman church on the Lord’s Supper, on the priesthood, and on its position with respect to the laity, are false, and rob the believers of their most precious privileges. The clearer these convictions by degrees became, the heavier we felt the chains in which we were bound to a church of which the most important doctrines could not be reconciled by us to the Gospel; and the heavier we felt it to have a belief which we could not openly acknowledge, and to have no divine service answerable to our religious wants. A light suddenly arose out of this darkness, which was growing deeper and deeper, and a day dawn of hope announced the goodness of God to us. Circumstances which we need not mention have brought the joyful certainty, that the day is near, and brings light and liberty to the captive. What was struggling in us is come to clear conviction, and we thank God that we know what we want, and that he has given us the courage freely to declare the belief we acknowledge.

‘In the sight of God we abjure the Pope, and the hierarchy, and

all the non-evangelical matters thereunto belonging. Whatever struggles or slanders may assail us, we make ourselves loose from them. We make ourselves loose, not to go to war with men of another belief, not even of that belief which we renounce, but to find peace to our souls, and to thank, and serve in joy, God our Lord. We make ourselves loose, not in pride, or from a craving for a false liberty. We embrace with our brethren in Schneidemühl, the crucified Jesus, whose pure precepts alone, whose honour and worship alone we seek and wish. Amen.

‘While we thus constitute ourselves into a Christian Catholic-Apostolic Congregation, we solemnly declare that we adopt the Confession of Faith of our sister church (Schneidemühl) in all essential points.’

The declaration of this congregation is followed by the Schneidemühl Confession, *verbatim et literatim*, ‘and is signed,’ as Mr. Laing says, ‘with a strong expression of the firm resolution of the subscribing members to abide by and support their principles.’

The next declaration of faith is that of Offenbach, which is similar to that of Breslau. It was adopted on the 20th February, 1845, and requires :—

‘I. Free reading of the Scriptures, and in the translations not sanctioned by Rome.

‘II. Abolition of fasts by church appointment.

‘III. Abolition of the invocation and veneration of saints and relics.

‘IV. Abolition of all that is unintelligible and unprofitable in the service ; and above all, of the Latin tongue.

‘V. The Lord’s Supper in both elements, which by historical right acknowledged by the Popes themselves, the so-called laity are entitled to, and which would place the priest in his proper position.

‘VI. Abolition of auricular confession, and its effects—without, however, restraining the free communication and confidence of individuals of a congregation in their minister.

‘VII. Abolition of remissions, as an unworthy trading with the highest spiritual blessing.

‘VIII Abolition of the impious and inhuman church laws against the members of other confessions of faith, particularly respecting mixed marriages, and godfathers and godmothers.

‘IX. Abolition of the forced celibacy of the clergy, on the grounds of humanity, of the history of the church, and of the efficiency of the clergy themselves in the clerical office.

‘X. Complete abolition of dependence on the Roman Pope, as the chief cause of every evil.’

The declaration and articles of dissent from the Roman church, by the congregation of Worms, is dated 8th March, 1845.

‘WE, the subscribers, declare—

‘I. We remain as before—Catholics.

‘II. As such, we remain members of the congregation of our respective parishes; and we adopt, consequently, the doctrine or dogma of the Catholic church, as articles of faith. But, in course of time, abuses have crept in, which we do not consider as belonging to the Catholic church. We protest, therefore—

‘I. Against all restraint in reading the Holy Scriptures in translations not approved of by the church.

‘II. Against church fasts.

‘III. Against the veneration of saints and relics, and against pilgrimages and processions.

‘IV. Against the use of a foreign tongue in performing divine service. We require, namely, the German language to be used in the holy mass.

‘V. Against administering the sacraments of the Holy Supper in one element only.

‘VI. Against auricular confession.

‘VII. Against all remissions of sins by the church.

‘VIII. Against the doctrine that the Roman-Catholic church is alone the church of salvation, which is contrary to the doctrine of love towards our fellow-men, and out of which arises the proceedings in cases of mixed marriages.

‘IX. Against the continuance of celibacy.

‘X. Against the supremacy of the Pope in the Catholic church.

‘XI. Against the introduction of the new catechism of Mayence.’

The congregation moreover refers to the declaration of that of Offenbach, as expressing the opinions it adopts.

The last of declarations which we shall give, is that of the congregation of Berlin, which is dated the 3rd of March, 1845. It is of importance, as expressing the opinions of a congregation dwelling in the intellectual metropolis of Germany. It is as follows:—

‘I. WE take the Holy Scriptures as the truest source of Christian faith, and accept the oral delivery of it only in so far as it agrees with the Scriptures.

‘II. We hold the belief in Christ to be the foundation of our justification, and honour works only in so far as they flow from faith.

‘III. We acknowledge only two sacraments as being ordained by



Christ—Baptism, and the Lord's Supper. The other sacraments of the Roman-Catholic church, therefore, we acknowledge as only pious usages, consecrated by tradition.

'IV. We reject, however, the doctrine of transubstantiation; that is, the change of the substances of bread and wine into the substances of the body and blood of Christ. We acknowledge, however, that we partake of the substances in the real spiritual presence of the Saviour.

'V. We partake in the Holy Supper of the Lord in the two elements; but admit the partaking of it in the bread alone.

'VI. We retain the holy mass, as a memorial of the bloody offering on the cross of Jesus Christ; but only in the language of the country.

'VII. We reject the ordinance of auricular confession; but respect the voluntary acknowledgment of guilt to the minister of the congregation.

'VIII. We deny the belief that the priest has the power to remit sins, and reject the imposition of express penances; but respect the pious mediation between the confessing and the minister.

'IX. We reject forced celibacy, and also the making of monastic vows against marriage; but respect the voluntary abstaining from marriage in so far as a conscientious discharge of the duty of the party requires it. We require for the validity of marriage, the celebration in church by a priest.

'X. We admit the celebration of marriages between Christians of different confessions of faith.

'XI. We reject pilgrimages and remissions; but we acknowledge the utility of the veneration of saints, and respect their human remains, but we do not address or invoke them, but expect from God alone our salvation, through Christ our only Mediator.

'XII. We reject the doctrine of the Roman Catholic church concerning purgatory; but admit a purification of the soul after death.

'XIII. We acknowledge Christ alone as the head of his church, and the Holy Ghost as his substitute on earth.

'XIV. We declare ourselves free from the Pope and his priesthood, and do not acknowledge him as the head of the church, appointed by God.'

The above declarations of faith and articles of dissent from the Roman-catholic church, after a strict comparison with the originals, we have borrowed from the 'Notes' of Mr. Laing.

From a careful perusal of these articles of faith, it must appear evident to every lover of truth and religion, that there is now and then a great discrepancy in their tone and tenets, which, say some, may, perhaps, prove a hindrance to the attain-

ment of that union which is so necessary for the foundation of the new church. Now it certainly must be admitted, that these confessions are a little at variance on some points. As for example, where the sixth article of the confession of faith of Schneidemühl says: 'We acknowledge that in all the holy altar-sacraments the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, with his soul and Godhead, *truly, actually, and in substance, are present*; and that the whole substance of the bread is changed into the body, and the whole substance of the wine into the blood through faith.' This is clearly the doctrine of transubstantiation. Again: 'We consider the latter (that is, the Lord's Supper),' says the congregation of Kreuznach, 'as a *remembrance, or memorial feast*, of our Lord Jesus Christ, and receive it under the words, 'This represents, or shows forth, my body; this represents, or shows forth, my blood.' 'The congregation of Berlin 'rejects,' in every respect, the doctrine of transubstantiation; that is to say, the change of the substances of bread and wine into the substances of the body and blood of Christ;' 'We acknowledge, however,' continues the same (iv.) article, that we partake of the substances *in the real spiritual presence of the Saviour*.' And what says the declaration of the congregation of Breslau? In the eighth article it declares, that 'The Lord's Supper, after consecration to Christ, will be administered, in both elements, to the congregation. The congregation receives it as a *commemorative feast* of the sufferings and death of their Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.' But, however the reformers of the new church may vary in one or two points, it must be borne in mind, that the whole is, as yet, in what the Germans would call 'Entstehen,' that is, primary beginning. It is as yet undefined, and the moral and spiritual truths upon which the whole is based, not as yet ascertained. It is reserved for a more enlightened and inspired generation to discover, by Divine aid, the clear region of everlasting truth; and at once to embrace it without passion, confusion, or any other of those imperfections to which human nature is liable. But although there doubtless exists a discrepancy in many points of these various confessions and declarations, there is nevertheless a striking agreement in them.

'Every one of them,' says a powerful morning paper, 'makes known the simple and fervent desire of enlightened and honest men to renounce all doctrines and beliefs unauthorized by Holy Writ. All breathe a hatred and horror of the impious inventions of man, and a full implicit reliance upon the wisdom and goodness of God, as made known in his own revealed word. 'We renounce the Pope, and declare ourselves free from the hierarchy.' 'We believe and acknowledge that Christ is the only Mediator

between God and man.' 'We detest all compulsion, lies, and hypocrisy.' 'We abolish all practices by which missions, fasts, pilgrimages, lead to an absurd sanctification of works.' Such are a few of the announcements which characterize all the confessions of a people suddenly awakened to a consciousness of error, to a sense of danger, and to the conviction that there is no salvation for the soul except through Jesus Christ the Lord and giver of life. Harmony and unanimity could hardly be expected from the first moral and spiritual impulses, of minds kept for so long a period in a state of abject slavery. The great number of declarations which were so suddenly and forcibly sent into the world, each and all expressing a most melancholy sense of the thralldom and degradation, felt by those who have shaken off the Romish yoke, and who now subscribed them, could not reasonably be expected to present that concord which might perhaps have been the result, had the whole proceeded from minds accustomed to moral and religious freedom, and well versed in the doctrines of pure Christianity. This was left for a future period, and for the so-called General Assemblies, all of which, we are happy to say, have already been held. The latter resulted chiefly from the discovery made by the members of the new church themselves, as to the perilous nature of their position, who therefore endeavoured to avoid every thing having a tendency to undermine its health and welfare.

It would lead us too far were we to give a minute account of the general assemblies held at Leipsic, Breslau, Stuttgard, &c., by the representatives of the German Catholic church in the name of the members constituting it, or even were we to enter upon a detailed account of the enactments that were made. It may be sufficient to say, that these assemblies were constituted of pious and enlightened men, who formerly belonged to the church of Rome, and who have obtained a universal celebrity for their learning, their high station, and their strict moral conduct, while connected with that church. We may mention, among others, the famous Dr. Theiner, Professor Dr. Wigand, Dr. Regenbrecht, *besides the reformers Ronge, Czerski and Pastor Kerbler*. The simple fact that the transactions have been managed in a spirit of Christian love and unanimity, augurs well for the successful accomplishment of the object they have in view, which is *the establishing of the future faith of all the congregations constituting the German Apostolic Catholic Church*. In order to arrange this important matter systematically, several resolutions were passed; among which occurs one which is well worth transcribing, and which will show at a glance upon what principle the whole is based. It says:—  
'The community conceive the duty of Christian men to be not



merely to produce a lively knowledge of Christianity amongst the members of the congregation by public worship, exhortation, and instruction, but also, by active Christian love, to advance with all their powers the spiritual, moral, and material welfare of all their fellow-creatures, without exception or reserve.' A church built upon so broad and truly Christian a principle, may well inspire a belief that success and great achievements are yet in store for her, that these must ultimately contribute to the everlasting honour and glory of the church of Christ.

The Confession of Faith adopted by the general assembly for the German Apostolic Catholic church, is, as nearly as possible, as follows:—

'First,—That the Holy Scriptures alone and entirely constitute the foundation of the Christian faith; the comprehension and interpretation of such scriptures being freely delivered over to reason, penetrated and moved by Christian principle.

'Secondly,—As a symbol of our faith, we adopt the following declaration:—'I believe in God the Father, who, by his almighty word, created the world, and governs it in wisdom, justice, and love. I believe in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, our Saviour; I believe in the Holy Ghost, a holy universal church of Christ, the forgiveness of sins, and the life everlasting. Amen.'

'We renounce the supremacy of the Pope, declare ourselves free from the hierarchy, and refuse beforehand all concessions which the hierarchy may hereafter make to bring the liberated church once more under its yoke.

'Auricular confession is also rejected; celibacy, the intercession of saints, the adoration of relics and images. Whilst, however, auricular confession is abolished, any individual member of a congregation may, if he be so inclined, communicate with the priest before partaking of the sacrament; none shall be constrained to do so. Indulgencies are renounced, and with them prescribed fasts, pilgrimages, and all such institutions of the church as conduce to an unmeaning sanctification of works. But perfect liberty of conscience is allowed, free searching into and interpretation of holy writ, with no shackles of external tyranny or bias. Two sacraments only are acknowledged—those of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, whilst every individual community or insulated flock is not so restricted that it may not retain Christian usages. Baptism is to be administered to children, and the remaining sacrament to the congregation in both elements. *The latter is to be received in remembrance of our Lord and Saviour*, and the doctrine of transubstantiation is wholly given up. Marriage is regarded as a holy institution, and the blessing of the church as necessary to it. No prohibitory conditions or restrictions are acknowledged on this head, save those established by law. The first duty of the Christian is believed and confessed to be that of *proving faith by words of Christian love.*'

We have dwelt very little on the transactions of the general assembly held at Leipsic, where so many resolutions passed and were adopted in furtherance of the external and internal welfare of the new church, as also on the progress which this movement has made since its origin, as we need only say, that any one reading the account given of the former, must be struck with the honest zeal and earnestness of its members, and the spirit of Christian unity and love, which influenced their conduct. Both exact our sincere admiration, convinced as we are that, next to God, to both the success is owing. With respect to the latter, so much has already been said, and is daily said, of the hundreds of places in which congregations are established, and are establishing, and of the hundreds of thousands, headed by hundreds of priests, who have left, and are daily leaving, the church of Rome, that we have only to refer our readers to any of the numerous daily newspapers, where they will be sure to meet with statements of its progress. For us it remains to say a word or two as to the probable success and future prospects of this movement.

It is, on the whole, no easy matter to say what the end and effect of this religious movement in Germany will be, or how this state of religious fermentation will be settled. There is, however, every probability, if not a high degree of certainty, that it will prove destructive in the extreme to the church of Rome.

‘*Doceamus vera, ne, dum falsa defendimus, vera simul amittamus.*’

These words, so exhortingly uttered by the great Erasmus, have, as it were, become the watchword throughout Germany; and the

‘*Plus valent boni mores, quam bonæ leges,*’

has become so palpable, that the present generation of Roman catholics are bent on a course in moral and religious matters, which must ultimately bring them to the goal of moral freedom. And as for the ‘*Salus Ecclesiæ Romanæ suprema lex,*’ neither this nor the ‘*Stat pro ratione voluntas,*’ will do any longer. Rome is visibly losing ground in Germany; and, once lost, she will find it rather difficult to regain it. ‘Believe me,’ writes a most distinguished and liberal protestant divine from Germany, to an English friend of his, ‘Romanist supremacy is at an end in this country. There may possibly be a few trifling struggles, more through the obstinacy and fondness to rule of our petty sovereigns; but the more powerful and enlightened governments will soon convince those rulers that it is foolish and idle to oppose the mighty current of civilisation and light. The Pope will, no doubt, if he

perseveres in his present course of proceedings, largely contribute to shorten those struggles. What effect can bulls and briefs, commanding his clergy in this country to be more zealous in preaching the doctrines of the Romish church have at this time? Preaching, if it does not emanate from the heart, but is only produced by fear of the loss of a good living, assuredly will never go to the heart of the hearers. The Roman-catholic clergy in this country are peculiarly situated, ever since a regeneration took place in our own church, and among our own clergy. The majority of the Romanist priests are fond of associating with their protestant brethren, because they see and acknowledge their superior piety and learning, but they dare not. Apprehensions that the Vatican is but too ready to swallow their rich sees and prebends, keeps them from acting as most of them assuredly would. This, I believe, is shortsighted on their part. We have certainly in our church no Archbishop of Cologne, of Münster, or of Posen, with an income of from fifty thousand to sixty thousand thalers a year; but, on the whole, I believe that it is not too much to say, that our clergy are as well provided for as that of Rome, in this country, which proves that the different governments immediately after the Westphalian peace, understood so well how to take care of the property of the church, that it has remained unimpaired during the terrible struggles of the seven years' war, as well as during the wars consequent upon the French revolution.'

Mr. Laing, speaking of the future prospects of the German-Apostolic Catholic church, expresses a fear as to her success, and as a reason for it, he says, that the only class of Germans who have taken an interest in the present movement, is the middle class, and that neither the upper nor the lower ranks of society have embraced any of the new doctrines. Herein, Mr. Laing is mistaken, inasmuch as this commotion or agitation has been created within the very heart, if we may so say, of the lower classes. In Silesia, for example, it is the miners, and poor artisans, and such like people, who have embraced the new doctrines, and who consequently have renounced the Pope for ever. These poor simple-minded, yet honest men, have changed their religious creed; and, once changed, they are not likely to return again to the church of Rome. This, together with the effervescence among the middle and civic classes of almost the whole of Germany, we feel satisfied, will lead to something permanent, especially as matters stand at this moment, when religious passions are at their height. It is asserted, with a high degree of certainty, that the remains of catholicism are menaced with complete obliteration throughout the north of the country. Thus much, as far as the ecclesiastical power of



Rome is concerned. And as for the temporal powers of Germany, of them we may speak in the terms of a clever and enlightened French periodical, only varying its phrases and adapting it to our own purposes. Although we differ in opinion with regard to the doctrines of this new church, yet we acknowledge their desire of emancipation to be legitimate. And if they persist in their course, they will succeed. Princes will understand in time, that it can be of little service to them to be heads of the church, if the church is no longer the nation. The actual movement will terminate, sooner or later, in this result. Some governments, perhaps, will hasten to acknowledge this new church, in order to dictate the law to her, instead of receiving it from her; they will then extend over this new church the domination they now exercise over other churches. But this will be only a halt on the road; after which she will, at length, arrive at this separation from the church of Rome, which is the problem of the age. It is quite natural, that the movement should begin with Germany, since that is the country in which the inconveniences of the union with Rome, make themselves most sensibly felt; but it will not stop there. It ultimately must end with the downfall of the papal chair.

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Art. II.—1. *Caii Sallustii Crispi Opera quæ supersunt*: (edited by) Fridericus Kritzius. 2 vols. Lipsiæ, 1828, 1834.

2. *The History of the Conspiracy of Catiline and of the Jugurthine War*. By Caius Crispus Sallustius. Translated by Edward Peacock, M.A. London, Longman, 1845.

It is impossible to read the struggles of the Roman republic, first for existence, then for dominion, without admiring the indomitable perseverance of her aristocracy; the zeal for their order, the vigilance, the forethought, the self-sacrifice, the prudence, the enterprise, which animated them in factions and in wars, however unjustifiable. But in the history of this aristocracy, at the time, in fact, when the absolute supremacy of Rome is first displaying itself as unquestionable, a crisis comes, in which we have to marvel yet more at their short-sightedness and infatuation, than at any success of the public arms. A petty state of Italy had made itself mistress of all the fairest countries which touch on the Mediterranean: it might seem impossible to forget by what agency this wonderful eminence had been earned; by what soldiers so many hundred battles had been fought and won. Strange to say, the Roman nobles were practically blind

to the fact, that Italy was the basis of their power ;—that Italian freemen must be maintained, if the state was to continue on its own foundation. If in the times of the elder Cato and the younger Africanus, the leading men of Rome had been Catilines or Cæsars, they might well have been satisfied with any venal armies, whose attachment they could win, without caring whether they were of Italian, or of Spanish, Gaulish, Illyrian blood. Foreign troops, indeed, if they had good muscle and bone, would probably better suit an aspiring usurper ; but every prudent senator might have known well, that when Roman armies came to depend on such aid, the Roman senate would lose the empire of the world, and be personally at the mercy of some general. Manifest as this may seem, the freemen of Italy were allowed to waste away under the very eyes of the senate, and for a century together, the fact was not publicly noticed. At last, Tiberius Gracchus came forward with measures to remedy so dangerous a decay. His remedies were distasteful to the aristocracy ; he was crushed, and he was murdered. The miserable disease which he came to cure, remained as a notorious reality ; yet his opponents attempted no remedy. His brother bound himself to a similar martyr career ; which the enraged aristocracy avenged by slaughtering, not Caius Gracchus only, with his friend Fulvius, and Fulvius's innocent youthful son, but some three thousand of the Roman commonalty. From this moment an evil genius seemed to have possessed the fate of Rome : no wisdom, no patriotism, no vigilance on the part of her first statesmen could any longer arrest the precipitous career along which the republic was hurried to ruin. A second time, indeed, the nobility triumphed, under Sulla ; but when the third crisis came, and it prepared for vengeance equally cruel, its own vainglorious folly ruined it, and prostrated the veteran Pompey before the selfish demagogue Cæsar. But whatever had been the result of that war, the republic could not have stood, nor could the proudest senator of Rome secure for himself any place between that of despot or slave. The decline and fall of the Roman empire has employed the pen of an English writer, of high artistical genius ; but the decline and fall of the *republic* still needs, for us, a historian : and it may well be called a tragedy of the first order.

No continuous history of these times has come down to us in the Latin language ; for nearly all this portion of Livy's great work is lost. We have, however, two very striking *monographs* in the form of biography, by the excellent Latin writer Sallust, called the war of Jugurtha, and the conspiracy of Catiline. Each has the same moral,—the hopeless corruption of the Roman aristocracy ; and that which is later, represents

the depravity as of still deeper dye, and as affecting worst all those of oldest family. This singular result may at first sight appear to have a deep moral, and to be capable of feeding a just hatred towards aristocratic institutions. But it is rather to be judged an accident attending the success of the senatorial party under Sulla; who, as the Robespierre of the day, from a miserable fanaticism in the cause of his idol, inflicted on political opponents atrocious massacres and confiscation, such as to throw into the shade the murders committed by the Marian party. The tools and the gainers in these scenes of iniquity, were the youthful nobility and their hangers-on; and such were the deeds of domestic carnage in which the youth of Catiline was spent. To have named the fact, explains at once the truculent profligacy of the Catilinarian party, who desired to perpetuate the licence of bloodshed, plunder, and unlimited debauchery into which they had been initiated during the rule of Sulla.

The earlier depravity of the nobles, which first came out into public notoriety during the war with Jugurtha, is more instructive, perhaps, exactly because their guilt was less fully ripened. It still represented the wickedness of statesmen, not of leagued highwaymen and assassins. For this reason, no one in modern times has questioned the truth of Sallust's narrative concerning the Jugurthine war, while various respectable writers (though, by no means, of high authority) have avowed themselves unable to believe the utter atrocity imputed to the Catilinarians. Some, indeed, have urged numerous grounds for regarding the charges brought against them as mere party slanders; and one argument has so much plausibility, that we are induced here to notice it, especially as we have never seen it answered as we think it ought to be. It is objected, we mean, that many of the ancients were disposed to regard the wealthy Crassus as more or less implicated in Catiline's schemes; and that this indicates credulity so greedy, as to shake the authority of the whole story. But this surely admits of a widely different interpretation. The connexion of Crassus with the conspirators was so very unlikely, that the belief could never have gained currency from any intrinsic plausibility: hence it is probable that there was positive testimony to the fact. But is it incredible? On the contrary, it admits of a natural explanation. Crassus, like Catiline, had been in the party of Sulla, and from his eminent position there, must have had many adherents or connexions by whom the plans of Catiline would become at least dimly discernible to him. In case of a revolution, his riches would have marked him out as a first victim; and if he knew enough of the wide extent of the conspiracy to be alarmed, he may have negotiated with them obscurely, in order to secure his own safety, though with



anything but an intention of assisting them. Still, enough may have transpired to make it *appear* that he was privy to the plot; and his own demeanour, in consenting to hush up the evidence, and allow the senate to cast mere disdain upon the informant, countenances this view. Nor is the atrocious spirit of the conspirators out of keeping with the history which precedes and follows. We can trace with extreme distinctness, in undoubted and indubitable fact, the steps of degeneracy along which the oligarchy of Rome rushed, with pace ever accelerating, immediately after the defeat of Hannibal at Zama. Upon this event they quickly discerned that the spoils of the world were theirs, if they could but get pretences for war plausible enough to ensure the support of the Roman people. The elder Africanus lived to see a majority of his fellow-senators care more to amass for themselves princely fortunes, by means fair or foul, than to secure the stability of their order and of their native institutions. His younger contemporary, the great Cato, proclaimed that those institutions could not stand, when the nobility were rich enough and base enough to spend on a single dish what might have maintained a yeoman's family for a month; and beyond a doubt, hundreds besides saw that this greedy oligarchy could not for ever go on to plunder the world without falling into mutual conflict over the spoil. But all knew that it would last their time and the time of their children; for a more distant posterity they took no account. Considering, also, the extreme care which the Romans employed on the *census* of their citizens, it is incredible that Tiberius Gracchus was the first to discern the wasting of the free Italian population. Nearly every consul and prætor who had had to enroll troops for fifty years preceding, must have been made conscious of the fact: but to notice it was inconvenient, and all were angry when Gracchus would allow them to wink at it no longer. The majority of the nobility were engaged in self-aggrandizement, and were wilfully blind to the social dangers of the state. Still, they managed for some years yet to cloak their selfishness under one or other public pretence; and did not hesitate to crush opposition by indiscriminate murder, until the pertinacious determination of Jugurtha to bribe every great man in Rome who could by any sum be bought, revealed beyond dispute the utter rottenness of that great aristocracy. The horrible contest of Marius and Sulla, the facts of which no one has yet doubted, left nothing worse for a Catiline to perpetrate.

The deeds of Sulla had been written by Sisenna. At a later period, Sallust took for his subject the reaction which followed the death of the tyrannical aristocrat; namely, in the histories which unfortunately have been lost. But his earlier works were

equally directed to expose the malversations and iniquity of that party, by which (as a favourer of Caius Cæsar) he himself was ejected from the senate. It can hardly be doubted that this was the real cause which induced him to dedicate his talents to narrate the war of Jugurtha. Neither to the military nor to the common reader can its campaigns have any very great interest, since the want of exact geographical knowledge on the part of writer and reader gives it a most undesirable vagueness. Nor does Jugurtha's own character—consisting of energy, treachery, and cruelty, equally mixed—contain anything to relieve the oppression of mind felt from the narrative of unvaried crime. One proud and upright noble, of respectable talent,—Metellus, surnamed Numidicus,—two spirited tribunes of the people, and one rude plebeian upstart, the heartless Marius, alone break the monotony of venal Romans in the Jugurthine war. In it, indeed, as in the Catilinarian conspiracy, the characters are drawn strongly, and with discrimination: the speeches, although in Sallust's own peculiar style, are in substance varied and appropriate. The understanding which he shows of the Roman constitution is profound, familiar, and matured, without scholastic pedantry. The whole tone of writing is thoughtful, dignified, concise and manly; and (it has been with no small probability surmised) furnished the model which Tacitus set before him in composing his immortal works. Their very ruggedness is deliberately intended, nor is there any negligence in their obscurities; every part has received as much smoothness as the artist thought fit, and is finished even where a half-taught person desires to add more finish. This, perhaps, is peculiarly characteristic of such compositions as are rightly pronounced *classical*; but their sterling merits cannot be appreciated by tiros in the language, and it may seem strange that the works of Sallust, as the *Agricola* and *Germania* of Tacitus, should be favourites only at schools, but scarcely read by college youths, or by any grown men beyond professional precincts. Many of Cicero's treatises and orations have suffered a like degradation, in part because their Latin is *so easy*;—their appropriate excellence and beauty being made a reason why they should be neglected by more matured intellects. It cannot be imputed to the monographs of Tacitus and Sallust, that their style is too easy for the study of collegians; but, we apprehend, the convenient *compactness* of such monographic works has won for them the preference of schoolmasters. They are short enough for school books, and they contain within themselves nearly all the information which a school-boy or his teacher absolutely needs. That this is not an adequate reason for using these works in schools, we do not mean to decide; but we do



protest against regarding their use in schools as a reason why older minds should contentedly remain ignorant of them.

A very elaborate edition of Sallust has in recent years been put forth by Kritz, with Latin notes of great length. We believe that it may be said, with much confidence, that the text of the author, as given us by Kritz, is far more trustworthy than in any other edition; although this editor may seem to err on the side of preferring difficult readings, and studying to elicit refinements. He is chargeable also with a tone of unpleasant arrogance towards other critics. His is the edition which a scholar will, in preference, choose; but we have not been able to overcome the conviction that his Latin notes might have been compressed advantageously into one-third of their length. We hardly know for what class of readers they can be intended. A scholar does not need so much ado, and a learner cannot be expected to wade through them. We regret to observe, not in Kritz only, but in Zumpt, who has edited the Verrine orations of Cicero in two octavo volumes, a tendency to set up anew a system of annotation, too similar to that of the Porsonian school in England, which thought far more of the words than of the substance of the author. If this were followed up, it would soon decide for ever that the study of the classics should be reckoned with that of Hebrew or Anglo-Saxon, which can find no field for themselves in practical England.

Meanwhile, judicious translators may be of great service. We should be untrue to our own conviction of the value of ancient history, did we despond as to the benefit to be hoped from the mass of our middle classes acquainting themselves with the best historical works of antiquity. Unfortunately, hitherto our aristocracy have turned to so little purpose the elaborate apparatus of classical teaching provided for them in the public schools and universities, that practical men are incredulous as to the worth of the lessons to be gained from such sources. But when our middle classes begin to learn, they learn for real use, not for mere elegant amusement; and the more sterling parts of classical literature, we fondly hope, will not be so thrown away upon *them*. Such considerations induce us to welcome every modern translator of valuable prose classics, who really advances this object: and as such we may surely reckon the translation of Sallust now before us, by Mr. E. Peacock. We should have been still better pleased, if illustrative notes had been added, or an appropriate introduction, addressed to English readers who have no previous acquaintance with the subject: yet the book is such, as to render this far less necessary than in most other classics. The translation is executed into the standard English of our own day: it is fluent, unexcept-



tionable, and, as far as we have examined, quite trustworthy for correctness, assuming the text followed by the translator to be the best; which, perhaps, is not strictly the case. He informs us, in his preface, that he has endeavoured 'to infuse into the translation some portion of that spirit and elegance, which so eminently distinguish the original.' *Elegance* is hardly the quality which we should have ascribed to Sallust; but we think we may state that Mr. Peacock is generally *spirited*, and especially when the subject most demands it. The style is, indeed, too Latinized, and often too smooth, to please our taste, in rendering an old-fashioned and condensed author like Sallust: whose peculiar manner, according to our notion, ought to be imitated by something analogous in English. This, however, is quite a secondary question, and one on which there will be a diversity of taste. It may be thought unwise to repel the reader by any thing approaching to oddity, when the main object is to attract attention to the substance of the work. We do not ourselves yield to this argument. In the later period of national literature, when information has greatly accumulated, and writers have learned by reading more than by solitary thinking, a glib uniformity of expression creeps in, so pellucid as instantly to show the meaning through it, while the medium itself is scarcely perceptible, or at least draws no attention whatever. For pure science or diplomacy such a style is perfection, but for history, as for poetry, we demand a more substantial and vividly coloured medium, which shall tinge the imagination and excite the memory. We need not here fight the old battle of the romantic against the falsely named classical school. The very history of English poetry and French prose shows that true genius invests its compositions with hues and features of its own, which are gendered naturally by the kindling and forming soul within: and as those native writers who have a style of their own, provided it be not deformed and conceited, strike their roots most deeply into the hearts of readers; so, in translating such writers, it appears to be an injustice wholly to ignore their peculiar manner. We would have the translator draw a wide distinction between authors who have no style at all, or who have spent no pains whatever on the *form* of their works, and those who have elaborated their composition with care similar to that of the poet. The former class may not only be transferred with perfect success into newspaper English, but may even, in many cases, with great propriety and advantage, be exceedingly abridged in the translation. Of this an instance ready to our hand occurs in Polybius; a most valuable writer, but one who is often so inexpressibly tedious in his long-winded reflections, that in pure mercy to the English reader (or rather, to secure

any readers at all) the translator ought often to cut down whole paragraphs into sentences, and turn comparisons into allusive metaphors. But when an author is terse, racy, shaping his sentences after a characteristic fashion of his own, and with that peculiar mode of materializing his conceptions which is often observed in ancient writers; we then desire that his translator should, at the risk of being thought strange or affected, study to mould his English into forms that possess characters similar to those of the original. The translation before us does not aim at this, and therefore of course seldom attains it; but, in truth, how few Englishmen ever have done so? Pope has smoothed away into modern beauty all the angularity of Homer: Dryden had conceived of a different abstract excellence in translating the *Iliad*; but when he essayed it on the first book, he produced a monstrous abortion which is below criticism. Just so, Gordon translated Tacitus with consummate conceit and absurdity; while Murphy cast him into the mould of the eighteenth century, and dissipated his condensed energy into redundant language. The first principles of really good translation have to be learned by our countrymen. We profess in the present critique a higher standard of excellence than is generally conceived of; and while we wish to inculcate this, both on the present translator and on all our readers, we would not do it in such a way as to disparage the book before us, which has merits of its own, and deserves patronage. Indeed, the concise modesty and business-like tone of the preface in itself prepossesses us in favour of the translator.

To exhibit the style of his English, we take the following as a good specimen, which will show that in really striking passages, he does not suffer the spirit of the original to evaporate.—p. 19.

‘At last, Catiline was enslaved with a passion for Aurelia Orestilla, who, except her person, had nothing to command a good man’s praise. When she hesitated to marry him, dreading his son, who had arrived at manhood, it is confidently believed that the youth was assassinated to render the house free for these nefarious nuptials. And this circumstance strikes me as principally inducing him to hasten the conspiracy. For his impure soul, abhorred by gods and men, found no respite either in watchfulness or rest—so powerfully did conscience goad his infuriated mind. His face was colourless, his eyes ghastly; his step, now slow, now hurried—in fact, madness was impressed on every feature of his countenance.’

Criticism in detail would be here useless, and might only appear as pedantry in the critic. It remains merely to express our hope, now that we see Mr. Long engaged in translating some of

Plutarch's Lives in Knight's Weekly Volumes, that our best scholars will be disposed, and will be induced, to give their labours to this interesting object. Many, who are both willing and competent, are practically disabled, because the market is forestalled by the republishing of bad translations; and it is very difficult to draw public attention to the claims of those which are better executed. Such publishers, however, as Mr. Knight, have a peculiar power in this direction; and we trust that a portion of it will be used to introduce English readers to fields of thought and knowledge, which were familiar to all well-educated men and women two centuries ago, and which have lost none of their value.

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Art. III.—1. *Travels in Luristan and Arabistan*. By the Baron C. A. De Bode. 2 vols 8vo. J. Madden and Co., London. 1845.

2. *Bokhara; its Amir and its People*. Translated from the Russian of Khanikoff. By the Baron Clement A. De Bode. 1 vol. 8vo. J. Madden and Co., London. 1845.

BOTH these works are from the pen of the Baron Clement A. De Bode; that on Luristan and Arabistan being an original work, that on Bokhara, a translation from the Russian of Khanikoff. Before we proceed to offer any observations on the contents of these publications, we may be allowed to express our surprise that a foreigner should have been able to write our language with so much accuracy and elegance, and cannot but compliment him on his unusual proficiency. There is little in either work, to remind us of a foreign idiom; so little, that we must assure the author that there was small occasion for the modest apology with which, in his preface to his own work, he deprecates the charge of presumption, 'for writing in a language not his own.' He says, that 'if the interest created by historical recollections' will excuse him in introducing 'ancient Elymais, with its adjacent countries, to the notice of the public, he fears he has not the same chance in presuming to address his readers in a language not his own. His short stay in this country has had the effect of making him sensible of his deficiencies in this respect, without giving him time to supply them.' We can assure him that he has no great reason to ask our indulgence in this matter; there being to our certain knowledge, many authors amongst our countrymen who could not write their language with so much correctness and purity. It is true, that in the prefaces to both works, he ex-



presses his obligations to Mr. J. A. St. John, as well as to other friends, for kind attentions and 'judicious hints;' but unless those obligations are far greater than are usually implied in the friendly perusal of an author's manuscript for the purpose of offering general suggestions of improvement—unless, in fact, they amount to a complete editorial revision of the whole—the Baron's knowledge of our language must still be very considerable—indeed, far beyond that usually attained by the majority of the foreigners who study it. With the exception of a very occasional slip, as 'wrote' in one place for 'written,' and in another, 'self-abnegation,' for 'self-denial,' we have met with almost nothing that could indicate a foreign origin.

The countries to which these travels refer, are still comparatively unknown to Europeans. Extensive as has been the intercourse of late years with the East, there are still vast tracts of it which are as little known to the English reader, as those of the most western settlements of America, or even less so. Numberless are the books which treat of the territories which lie within the limits of our vast Indian empire, yet the regions immediately contiguous to it have, many of them, been but imperfectly explored. Bokhara is one of these, and though its name has recently become more familiar to the English ear in connection with events which have lately transpired in the east, we apprehend that the work of Khanikoff contains by far the fullest and most accurate description of it which has yet been presented to the European public. It contains, indeed, a very minute and detailed account of its geography, whether physical or political; of the tribes and races that inhabit it; of its climate, and natural productions; of its commerce and civilization.

The countries to which Baron de Bode's own work relates, are yet less known to the public; nor is it without reason that the author deems it not impertinent to commence by telling his readers in what direction those regions lie. He says, with a good deal of naiveté:—

'If a traveller who had visited Switzerland or the banks of the Rhine, or any other part of Europe, were to think it necessary first to acquaint the reader where these countries lie, before he entered on the description of his travels, he would be considered impertinent, and would indeed deserve censure. But a similar condemnation would by no means rest on him, who, having penetrated into some obscure regions of the east, should conceive it necessary to indicate their position on the map to his countrymen of the west, before he could expect them to follow him patiently through the details of his journey.'

Certainly, in the present case, we cannot deem such infor-

mation superfluous. In spite of Pinnock's Catechisms and Goldsmith's Classbooks, we doubt, with our author, whether there are many who know precisely where Luristan is situated, and even think there are not a few who would confound Arabistan 'with some parts of Arabia.' They are to understand, then, that these countries are both parts of Persia; Luristan embracing the greater portion of the mountainous country between the extreme eastern boundary of Turkey, on the one hand, and Ispahan and Fars, on the other; while Arabistan, or, as it is otherwise denominatcd, Khuzistan, occupies the Low Country, which lies to the south of the same chain of mountains.

These countries have been hitherto but little investigated; and admirable as are many of the English works which within the last five and twenty years have appeared on Persia in general, sometimes in the shape of travels, and sometimes in the shape of scarcely less instructive fiction, these particular countries have not received anything like an adequate portion of attention.

The regions which Baron de Bode's volumes are more particularly designed to illustrate, now lie in decay and desolation, occupied by a rude and barbarous people, or in many parts not inhabited at all. It was not always thus. Those changes, which, in the physical world, are continually operating on the earth's surface, altering the relations of land and water, crumbling down old continents and disclosing new, are scarcely more momentous, and are far less obvious than those which are perpetually transferring the seats of civilization; rendering countries once populous, a desert; filling what were once the abodes of luxury and refinement with hordes of ignorant barbarians;—in a word, removing all 'the ancient landmarks' of art, science, and civilization, and fixing them again in countries which were a few centuries ago covered with trackless forests, and inhabited by tribes of naked or painted savages. One hardly knows which is the more wonderful; the revolution by which we find the tent of a wandering Arab side by side with the ruins of Persepolis, and the descendant of an ancient Greek stripped of all that made his forefathers so glorious, or that which has transformed the rude Britain of Cæsar's time into the England of the nineteenth century, and given to the descendants of the savage worshippers of Odin the honour of producing to the world a Bacon and a Newton, a Shakspeare and a Milton.

Though it is not easy to say which of these revolutions is the more wonderful, it is easy to say which is the most affecting to the imagination. What a melancholy commentary on the instability of all human things, and of the truth of the inspired declaration 'that all is vanity,' is afforded in the spectacle of

countries now in desolation and decay, which once flourished in arts and arms; of that profound solitude which now reigns in regions once teeming with a busy population, resounding with the hum of cities, and covered with the trophies of civilization.

Many of the tracts visited by the Baron de Bode are of this character. His course often lies through parts historically connected with some of the chief glories of the ancient Persian empire, and with the marches and victories of its great Macedonian conqueror. They are now thinly peopled with rude and barbarous tribes, ignorant alike of their own origin, and of the history and achievements of the races that preceded them. These volumes contain very frequent descriptions and details connected with some of the memorials of the past with which these regions abound,—almost unheeded, it may well be supposed, by the present inhabitants, and comparatively little investigated, as yet, by European travellers and antiquaries. Several plates of inscriptions are given in the work copied by the author, but of which the interpretation remains a mystery. At the close of the second volume, the author has appended a dissertation of some seventy pages (or as he more modestly styles it, 'observations'), on the two principal historic events connected with the countries he has described; namely, 'on the march of Timur, from Toster (Shushter) to Kaleh Sefid; and on the probable course pursued by Alexander the Great on his expedition from Susa to Persepolis.'

To those who expect in travels minute description of scenery or manners, these volumes will be likely to be not so acceptable as many others which really have less of novelty to recommend them. This is partly to be attributed to want of sympathy and previous knowledge on the part of the reader. The scenes described are so distant and unfamiliar, the names of places and persons are all so strange, that it is extremely difficult to form a vivid conception of the one, or to retain the other in memory, without more copious information than can be found in our author's rapid narrative. But we must candidly admit, that it is also in part to be attributed to the extreme rapidity of the author's career. His haste, considering the desolate wildernesses which he was called to traverse, and the barbarous and unsafe tribes amongst whom he was compelled to sojourn, we can account for, and excuse; but we cannot cease to lament it, as it has deprived him of those opportunities of thorough investigation and repeated observation, which alone could give him an accurate knowledge of details, or enable him to impart a vivid impression of them to others. As a certain work of a modern traveller has been styled 'A scamper across the



Pampas,' so some parts of the present volumes would almost entitle them to be called, 'A scamper through Luristan, and Arabistan.' Our author travelled from Teheran to Shiraz, *chapari*, that is, 'by post;' the arrangement for which, he effected by the intervention of Shefi Khan, the post-master general, and an old acquaintance of the Baron, who appointed one of his *chapars*, or postillions, to accompany him, and see that no delay took place in the providing of relays of horses on the road. From Shiraz to Shuster he could not travel *chapari*, as there are no post stations through those wild regions, but he seems to have made every practicable arrangement for as rapid locomotion as possible. For this, we again say, we cannot blame him, considering the countries through which he had to pass, and the sort of people on whose hospitality and good feeling he was dependent. We honestly confess that we ourselves should not have liked to tarry a moment longer than was necessary in some of the scenes he describes, and should wish to have as little to do as possible with some of the gentry amongst whom he was occasionally called to pass his nights. Much as it might gratify the curiosity of those who stay at home to have those minute and precise accounts of countries, hitherto almost unvisited by Europeans, which would result from prolonged residence in the hut of a barbarian, or a pedestrian tour as deliberate as one might take through France or Switzerland, there can certainly be no claim upon any man to become, for such purpose, a denizen amongst savages, or a martyr to fatigue, violence, or climate.

Still, though we have no quarrel with the author for the haste with which he pushed forward, the fact remains,—that it has too often given to his descriptions a vagueness and generality which nothing but a longer residence, and more deliberate observation could have corrected; a want of minute description and graphic detail. Sometimes, indeed, we are constrained to acknowledge that his narrative degenerates into little more than a bare record of uncouth names, which chase one another from the memory as fast as they are read, there being nothing circumstantial to retain them by; and here and there into a dry itinerary, which communicates little more than the rate of progress, and the stages stopped at; that so many 'far-sangs' (each more than an English league) had been got over in a day; often indeed such a number, that it leaves the reader no reason to wonder that the rider came jaded and exhausted to his journey's end, and as little room to be surprised that the names of certain villages, towns, tribes, rivers, and mountains, were nearly all that he had time to gather in his rapid flight. Sometimes we are told that there were some ruins to the right or to the left, which were reported to be interesting,

but which there was no time to visit, or that the horses were so fatigued, that he could not venture upon the deviation from the direct road. He seems to have been not only a hard rider, but impatient of slow motion; and not unfrequently left his less vigorous or worse-mounted attendants to find their way after him, and himself found his own way *before* them, as he and they best could. In two or three instances this propensity does not appear to have been attended with very pleasant consequences. Just before reaching Kazerun, he says, that having sent on his guide, he advanced with his two servants leisurely—'the horses of the latter being quite knocked up. But this slow pace could not suit me long, and setting my steed into an easy trot, I soon lost sight of them.' On that same evening he tells us he alighted at Kazerun, 'fatigued and bruised all over, having made that day upwards of nine farsangs, or forty-three miles.' If it had not been for those circumstances which we have already stated as a sufficient excuse for haste, we should have been greatly inclined to expostulate with our traveller much as Daniel O'Rourke expostulates with the eagle that 'fled him up to the moon.' When the latter tells his involuntary companion to sit down in the moon, for that he (the eagle) was tired with such a 'long fly;' 'And, pray,' says Daniel, 'who was it asked you to fly so far? was it I? Did not I beg and entreat and beseech your lordship's honour's glory to stop half an hour ago?' In the same manner we could have heartily wished, had it been practicable, that the number of farsangs made by the author in one day had not been quite so numerous, and that he had not so frequently to record his extreme physical exhaustion, which, indeed, must often have left him in an unfavourable condition for either making or recording observations. The extreme mobility of our traveller is strikingly manifested in the frequency of his night journeys, for which, we confess, we find it hard to account, seeing that a traveller's main object is 'to see what is to be seen.' That a traveller in such a climate as that of some parts of Persia, should choose the cool of the early dawn or the close of the dewy evening for pushing forward, is intelligible and reasonable. But not a few of our worthy traveller's 'farsangs' seem to have been 'made,' when the sun was absolutely below the horizon.

For the occasional insertion of comparatively dry and barren catalogues of the names of towns and villages, mountains and rivers, of which his hasty transit enabled him to obtain nothing further, we must confess that our author offers a sufficient defence and explanation. 'I thus minutely note down these different places,' he says, vol. ii. p. 251, 'however insignificant they may be, because the plain of Khorremabâd is not much



known, and European travellers seldom venture in this direction.' Any information (however meagre) which tends to throw light on the geography of unknown regions, or which enables us to complete the map of the earth's surface, must be acknowledged to be valuable.

On the whole, in spite of the want of more minute details and more circumstantial description, resulting from the rapidity with which our author prosecuted his researches, we are disposed to regard these volumes as a valuable contribution to the department of literature to which they belong. Some few common-places in the sentimental vein (occurring however rarely) might perhaps have been as well away; and some rather extensive extracts from Beckford's 'Vathek,' as well as some briefer citations from Moore and others, we could have gladly exchanged for a few more lines from the traveller's note book; not that we do not think them good, but because to English ears they sound trite. Indeed, had the extracts from Vathek been found in the work of an *English* author, we should have set them down to a determined and remorseless spirit of book-making; but nothing can be more natural than for a foreigner, charmed with some portion of an acquired literature, to forget how familiar it may be to those who speak the language.

Before proceeding to lay before our readers a few extracts from these pleasing volumes, we may be permitted to remark, that, whatever be the Baron de Bode's religious creed, we have been much pleased with the moral tone of his performance, and his habitually reverential mention of religious subjects. He has also, it is evident, been a diligent reader of those portions of scripture which tend to throw light on oriental history.

We now proceed to offer the reader a few extracts. They will, of course, not be from the portions which are connected with antiquarian and geographical details, which, apart from the connection, could scarcely be intelligible. We shall also omit all matters connected with the visit to Persepolis, the tombs of the kings, and the other wonders of the Vale of Merdasht, as these objects have frequently been described by travellers.

Our readers will not be displeased to hear that, even so remote a nation as Persia, is beginning to understand something of the great doctrine of religious toleration. The latter part of the following extract is not unamusing.

'The fact of Mussulman parents sending their children to learn at a Christian institution, and that too at Isfahan, the seat of Mussulman orthodoxy, is a great proof of the tolerance of the Persians in religious matters, to which even the chief priest set an example. The former Imam-Juma (lately deceased) to whose ancient family



the people of Isfahan bear a profound veneration, attaching an idea of sanctity to it, used to take a peculiar delight in the conversation of the catholic missionaries of Julfa on religious subjects. Sayyid Mohammed Baghir, the first Mustheid or propounder of the law, to whose decisions on points of Mussulman doctrine all Persia looks up, is also distinguished for the spirit of toleration, justice, and impartiality, with which he treats the Christian population of Julfa whenever they address themselves to his tribunal.

‘Independently of the personal character of the individuals mentioned, several other causes may have wrought this beneficial change in the policy of the Mussulman clergy.

‘Firstly, the progress Suffeism has made, of late years, in the kingdom. The followers of this sect, who formerly dared not avow their sentiments, now openly profess their doctrines, the main object of which is to keep more to the spirit than to the letter of the law; although many have gone beyond the prescribed limits, and have become freethinkers, or else indifferent on matters of religion. Even many members of the clergy profess, if not outwardly, at least in private, the tenets of the Suffi.

‘Secondly, it may be attributable to the start which the secular power has gained over the clerical in late years; for, even during the reign of the late king, the influence of the clergy over public opinion was still very great, and at times overbearing. As an instance of the change which has taken place in favour of royalty, we may here mention, that, although Fet’h-Ali-Shah was infinitely more proud than the reigning sovereign, and notwithstanding that in Persia all is based on etiquette, still he always paid the first visit to the Mushteid whenever he went to Isfahan. In 1841, when Muhammed-Shah was approaching that city, the same Mushteid came out of the gates to congratulate his majesty on his arrival. The old king, it is true, to keep up appearances, usually made believe that chance alone brought him into the vicinity of the Mushteid’s dwelling, and that, being so near, it would be unkind not to see his old friend after a long absence; but, then, this chance had become a rule from which the king never deviated, and which the Mushteid reckoned as his due.’—vol. i. pp. 46—48.

The following is the author’s account of the Persian post-office establishment and arrangements. It will be seen that there is a considerable difference between those of Persia and England in this respect. Neither merchants nor lovers accustomed to the rapidity and punctuality of our incomparable ‘penny post,’ would much relish the arrangements of the Persian postmaster; yet we were not much better off, nay, scarcely so well off, only two or three centuries ago.

‘The post in Persia is kept up by government, which pays for the maintenance of each chapar-khaneh, or post station, in money and in kind; the administration of it is in the hands of the postmaster-

general, who farms the chapar-khaneh separately or collectively, on a given line of communication with the capital.

‘ There are chapar-khanehs on all the principal roads leading to Teheran, but the towns in the interior do not enjoy the same advantage. The post, however, here is not instituted as in Europe, for the regular conveyance of letters and parcels. It is only for the transmission of orders from the central authorities to the different governors of provinces, and for reports sent up by the latter to the supreme court. On such occasions, a golam (literally, a slave,) or confidential servant, is intrusted with the packets and despatched *chapari*, which means by post. Individuals who have letters to forward in the same direction, take advantage of these opportunities by paying a trifling remuneration to the bearer who takes charge of their correspondence. Seven is the usual number of horses at each station, although it varies according to the exigencies of the times or the importance of the line of communication. The three principal points with which Teheran keeps up a continued correspondence are, Tabriz to the west, Isfahan to the south, and Mesched to the east.

‘ With the exception of one or two horses at each station, which are sometimes, but not always, tolerable, the rest are in a most miserable condition, and the poor rider who has the bad luck to bestride one of them is more knocked up by his jade than he is by the legitimate fatigues of his long journey. If, notwithstanding all his endeavours, his horse will not or cannot advance, he has the privilege of cutting off its tail and flourishing it before the face of the *zobet* or keeper of the next post station. This is the satisfaction granted him for having had to walk perhaps half way on foot, with his saddle on one shoulder and his bag of despatches on the other.’—*ib.* pp. 26—28.

The inhabitants of Mahommedan countries are not always quite obedient to that command of the prophet which enjoins abstinence from wine, as the following citation will show. They are, however, in general, temperate enough to set Christians a wholesome example.

‘ At 10, A.M. we entered the valley of Ser-Abi-Siyah (Black-water Head), lying between two parallel chains of hills. At first it is well cultivated, but further on it is covered with high grass, and becomes a mere swamp, which abounds in game. Many springs here burst forth from the ground and the rocks. There are roads along the base of the hills on either side of the valley. I chose that on the left, as being the shortest; but when the brother of Khan-Ali-Khan, chief of the Rustemi, met us (about 11 A.M.), he persuaded me to cross over to the other side, pretending that the road on the right was the better of the two. Probably he expected to meet his brother on that side. Khan-Ali-Khan soon made his appearance, accompanied by a crowd of men on horseback, all well armed and mounted. This parade was intended, no doubt, to convince the Ferengi of the importance of the chief, and of the strength of his tribe. The Persians are great braggarts.

‘After the usual salutations, we alighted. My travelling carpet was spread on the ground near a small *imam-zadeh*, and a cold fowl with pillaw set before me. This simple fare did not tempt the Mumaseni chief, as he sat opposite to me, surrounded by his numerous retinue; but there was one thing on which he fixed his longing eyes, and that was a bottle of red Shiráz wine. I own I felt very reluctant to part with it, for it was the last, and I had a long journey to perform before I could expect to obtain a fresh supply; at all events, not before reaching Isfahan; nor could I reckon on such good wine, as the bottle before me was of the best *hulari*. While these selfish ideas were revolving in my mind, probably no less egotistical feelings prompted my neighbour to stretch out his hand and lay hold of the bottle, adding, that he wished to drink my good health. ‘*Bo Salumeti shuma, Sahib.*’—(To your good health, sir.) Thus he went on quaffing one glass after another with the same good wishes until the whole had disappeared.

‘I hinted once while the work of devastation was going on, that the wine was very strong, and might perhaps affect his head. That, he said, was its best recommendation. When we rose to mount our horses, I found my prediction correct, for Khan-Ali-Khan soon began to roll in his saddle. He had previously insisted that I should stop a few days with him, and seemed rather piqued when I declined the offer.’—*ib.* p. 245.

The following stratagem of a freebooting chieftain amongst that plundering tribe, the Bakhtiyari, would be worthy of Rob Roy or any other ancient Highland catteran.

‘In his younger days, Muhammed Taghi-Khan was accustomed to lead his countrymen on plundering expeditions, where he reaped great renown for personal bravery and address. I was told an anecdote of him, which, if it does not redound to his honour, at least does credit to his inventive genius. Being one day on a foray with his followers, at some distance from their mountain fastnesses, they fell in with a rich caravan of merchants, who were proceeding from Isfahan to Teherán. The Bakhtiyari soon succeeded in capturing them and taking possession of their goods; but, apprehending lest a pursuit should be set on foot against them before they could gain their mountains, if they allowed their captives to depart, and fearing also that putting them to death would equally lead to detection, Muhammed Taghi-Khan had recourse to the following stratagem:—Among the plundered articles there happened to be a great many *chadders*, a thick stuff for veils, with which the women of Persia cover themselves from head to foot when they go out. Muhammed Taghi-Khan had the merchants dressed in this novel apparel, and replaced, handcuffed, on their own horses. They were then given in charge to his men, with strict injunctions that, should any of them dare to speak a word when any stranger was in hearing, he should be shot through the head. Thus the party journeyed on for several days, keeping, as much as the nature of the country would allow, off the high road, and



avoiding villages. The country people who passed them never suspected that there was any foul play going on, but imagined it was a caravan of pilgrims going with their wives and families to Kerbelah or Mecca, and even kept aloof from a feeling of decorum when they saw so many women in the party. When the Bakhtiyari had gained their mountains, and saw themselves out of reach of pursuit, they released their prisoners and left them to shift for themselves, as well as they could, whilst they made off with their booty to their families, elated with their success, and exulting in their chieftain's sagacity.—vol. ii. pp. 79, 80.

Not unfrequently the traveller was called to pass the night in the fashion following. The picture gives us the interior of an Iliyat tent. On taking a peep, we think the rapidity of our traveller's movements may be well excused.

' At half-past two I arrived at the encampment of Kúren, as it is called here, of the Boërekevend tribe, situated in a narrow valley between high mountains. I was received very hospitably; at which I was not astonished, as I had been previously apprized that the Lur Iliyats on this part of the road are a more hearty people than their neighbours who inhabit the valleys between Kíloband Khor-remabad.

' The women immediately set about cooking some rice pillaw, while the master of the tent killed a lambkin and dressed it on an iron spit. I found the supper delicious and the beverage very refreshing. The usual drink of the Iliyats consists of butter-milk weakened with water; a little salt is added to it, and it is then called *ob-i-dhug*. It is generally sour. There is nothing so efficacious for the purpose of slaking thirst on a hot summer's day as this *ob-i-dhug*. Before supper was over the rain recommenced, and in order to preserve my riding horse from getting wet, I was obliged to take him inside my tent and close to my couch, there being no other place for his accommodation, as the remaining part of the tent separated only from my bed room by a low partition of plaited reed, was filled with numerous members of my family and my servants, and a whole lot of young lambkins and kids in separate cages or pens of plaited reed. The latter kept sneezing and bleating the greater part of the night.

' It may be more easily conceived than expressed what a poisonous atmosphere there must have been in a tent of this description, the inclemency of the weather making it necessary to keep it closed, and yet this is one of the least inconveniences to which a traveller is exposed in travelling among this primitive people. If we were to establish a comparison between the comforts, nay, the luxuries, to which Europeans are accustomed when travelling in their own land, and the inconveniences and privations of eastern locomotion, it would be a constant figure of antithesis. But the appreciation of these relative wants of mankind ought at the same time to teach us two great

truths, which we are ever too prone to pass unheeded, namely, that our real wants in life might be brought within a very small compass, and that we ought to feel therefore doubly grateful to our God when we enjoy ease and comfort, at a time when thousands of our fellow creatures are deprived of both. Independently of the rain, I had another reason for securing my horse inside the tent, as these wild sons of nature, however tenacious they may be of their own property, are not very scrupulous in appropriating to themselves that of their neighbours.—*ib.* pp. 219, 220.

The reader may perhaps desire to see another variety of the same species of existence.

‘As Khorremabad lies on the right banks of the river, I had to cross a low stone bridge, close to which is a cypress grove. No lodgings having been secured before my arrival, I was first taken into the fort, situated on the top of an isolated rock, by a very steep path. Here no spare room was to be found, and I had to retrace my steps down again. At last a room was procured in the house of one of the *kedkhúdas* of the town, who had been charged with the administration of it during the absence of Hajji-Mullah Ahmed; but scarcely had I taken possession of my apartment, before it was filled by the Lurs, who had followed the master of the house, and established themselves comfortably round the walls. For several hours I was doomed to answer the inquisitive *Kedkhuda* and his company. After that, a regular *Dwan Kanèh*, or court of justice, was established in the same room. Crowds pressed in and out; complaints were lodged, differences were settled, appeals were heard. At length my patience was exhausted, and I thought it my turn, also, to appeal to my host, who sat in judgment there. I told him I felt much edified by the distribution of justice at his tribunal, but, nevertheless, as it was waxing late, and I had to rise early the next day, I hoped he would not take it amiss if I were to retire to my bed room. The audience hall being destined for this, my host took the hint, and one by one the company made their exit, to my no small relief.’—Vol. ii. pp. 252, 253.

History and theology do not seem to be the forte of the Persians, as the following extract may show. Theological controversy, they have, of course, a laudable hankering after, as have all other varieties of pugnacious humanity. That on the present occasion seems to have ended as hopefully as controversies in more civilized countries usually do; that is, in every body’s holding his first opinion. The account of the Ramadan feast which follows, may serve to show us how oppressive to the universal soul of man is a religion of ceremonial, with what ingenuity he plays the casuist against it, and how he struggles to cheat the very superstition which is cheating him. We might almost imagine ourselves reading a chapter out of Roman catholic history.

‘ I alighted at the house of the ruler of Búrújird, placed over the town and province by Behmén Mirza, second brother of the Shah, and who usually resides at Hamadán.

‘ The room was soon crowded by the inquisitive, as was usually the case wherever I arrived, and I had to attend for some time to the theological disputations of the learned company, who were of different opinions as to whether Moses had preceded or followed the patriarch Abraham, and whether David was not prior to both of them. They at length appealed to me, to tell them how it stood in the enjil, or gospel. I answered, that although the three named personages are often mentioned by the evangelists, still that the account of their lives was to be sought not in the New, but in the Old Testament, and took some pains to set them right in respect of the times when Abraham, Moses, and David, appeared on the stage of biblical history : but with the exception of one individual, who from the beginning of the contest, differed from the others, and who now acquiesced in the justness of my statements, the rest remained unconvinced ; and so we parted for the night.

‘ The modern Persians are as fond as were the Greeks of the Lower Empire, in spending their time in theological controversy, and it is astonishing what a number of absurd fables have been mixed up with the simple truths of the Holy Bible, and from being sanctioned by the Kúran, are universally accredited in the East.

‘ February, 23.—Although the morning was far advanced when I got up, I found no one moving in the house. I waited some time longer, in expectation of breakfast, but in vain ; and at last learned from my attendants, that it being the first day of Ramazán, all were still asleep, and that there was no fire in the kitchen. The Ramazán, or Mussulman Lent, lasts a whole month, and as the Persians are forbidden to eat until the appearance of the first star after sunset, they contrive to shorten the day by prolonging their sleep in the morning. Very little public business is performed during the time the Ramazán lasts ; and the Persians, who are in general inclined to saunter away their time in idleness, are glad to have this excuse for doing nothing. Towards the close of the day, they often become even disagreeable. For such as are accustomed to the chúbúk and the kaliyán (the ordinary and the water-pipe) the privation is doubly felt, as smoking is likewise forbidden ; and I have often heard the Persians acknowledge that they can support with greater ease the want of food and drink, than the deprivation of the luxury of smoking in the course of the day—a proof that habit, when long indulged in, becomes, for a time, more imperious than the cravings of nature.

‘ Some of the most notorious smokers, and such as are reckoned free-thinkers among them, contend that the pipe was never forbidden by their prophet, for the best of all reasons, because the use of tobacco was not yet known in that time ; but for fear of scandalizing the more rigid observers of the law, and of letting loose against them the Mulahs, they cunningly resort to the house of some European friend, where they taste the forbidden fruit, rendered so much



the sweeter from the circumstance of its being enjoyed by stealth. It is amusing to see the Persians at the close of the evening with their Kaliyáns in hand, waiting with the tube directed towards the mouth, in panting expectation for the signal gun, which allows them to break their fast, and then inhaling with glee the fumes of the narcotic plant. The women, in this respect, are not more backward than the men.

'The night is often spent in carousing until the first dawn, when another signal gun informs the followers of the Arab prophet that the fast is to recommence, at the sound of which, after some prayers, they repair to sleep.'—Vol. ii. pp. 299, 300.

We must here close our remarks and extracts. The latter we should have been glad to multiply, had space permitted. The Baron's volumes are adorned with numerous engravings on wood, as well as an excellent map. The plates of inscriptions have been already mentioned.

We had intended to offer a few observations on the work on Bokhara; but our space is exhausted, and we must therefore content ourselves with the general account of its contents already given, and recommend it to the attention of the public.

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Art. IV.—*History of England, from the Peace of Utrecht (1713) to the Peace of Paris (1763)*. 2nd Edition. 4 vols. 8vo. 1839—1844.

THE author of these volumes, to which a long list of other works of great merit might be added, is now the really responsible minister of Indian affairs; and by far the most important portion of his lordship's historical labours, the last, contains general views respecting our Indian dependencies, in strict harmony with the feelings and judgments of the sincerest philanthropists, upon this branch of his subject. When, therefore, it is considered how wide a section of the British empire is included under the terms BRITISH INDIA, and how numerous a portion even of the whole human race is designated by those two short words, there will appear nothing fanciful in our examining the writings of Lord Mahon, in reference to the political principles which they assert, more especially upon the past experience of that great country, and upon its future prospects. A careful reperusal, also, of several of those voluminous writings, leads us to be sanguine in the opinion, that his official Indian career will justify the strong expectations raised by his lordship's excellent theoretical views on numerous points. Assuredly, looking to the magnitude and delicacy of the questions more

than preparing for solution in India and on its borders—vast questions of internal regulation, and of trade abroad and at home; and pressing questions of external policy, more especially at this moment, on its northern frontiers, *towards the Punjab*, where the wisdom and integrity of our measures, or our folly and cupidity, must influence for good or for evil, all central Asia; and through that wide region, perhaps, greatly affect the well-being of eastern Europe;—looking, too, at the undeniable fact, which no one has marked with stronger disapproval than Lord Mahon, that Indian affairs are treated in England with equal indifference and ignorance; those sanguine hopes cannot be unaccompanied by anxious fears, lest the new secretary of the Board of Control may have come from his study armed with fewer resources to meet the difficulties of his new post, than the number and magnitude of those difficulties require.

It is a close examination of the works of the historian, that has raised this feeling of sincere anxiety for the statesman. It does not spring from doubts of his ability, which is well attested, but from what seems to us to be the most serious of his very few faults,—namely, from the fact of *his works being produced, for the most part, with secondary materials*. \*

This remark may require explanation. Public affairs in all countries have record in authentic documents of various kinds, more or less complete, which constitute the best genuine materials of history. Biographies, histories, either contemporary, or otherwise, whether written by actors in the events, or not, and miscellaneous works, may contain most important additions to such official records. But it is not even the happy sagacity shewn by Lord Mahon in the use of secondary materials, that will compensate for the habitual neglect of the best aids; and although in the most important branches of diplomatic and family papers, he is exceedingly well read, and shews great facility and discrimination in the use of them, the best aids can never be safely dispensed with, even though their places be occupied, as in this case, on Indian topics, by respectable names, such as those of Orme and Malcolm, Mill and Elphinstone.

We are led to insist upon this observation the more seriously, as Lord Mahon has adopted rather extraordinary sentiments on a point closely connected with it; and inasmuch as what has certainly been of no small damage to him as an historian, will, if carried into his official closet, exceedingly prejudice his career as a statesman. The eloquent and judicious opening to the two chapters\* on India which we now have chiefly in view, states

\* History of England, vol. iv. ch. 39, 40.

that summary of Indian history to have originated in an impression, that the existing general ignorance on the subject is to be traced to an *error* on the part of 'all other historians of British India, in requiring from their readers a preliminary stock of eastern lore.' His Lordship, therefore, determined to write 'a less learned work,' or as it is modestly enough called, 'a slight, but clear and faithful outline,' (History of England, vol iv. p. 420).

With great deference, we submit that in this there lies a considerable amount of error. Other strong causes may be adduced, to account for the indifference of the public to Indian affairs; and the time has even been, when these affairs were reflected upon in England with anything but apathy; but as far as the writing of history goes, it may be doubted, whether that of British India has not had a fair share of British intelligence devoted to it. However that may be (and we readily admit that much still remains to be done, before the history of India can be said to be written either so profoundly, or *so popularly* as its boundless importance demands), the defect, in regard to its popularity, will never be supplied, unless those who intend to be popular writers, acquire the habit of being profound readers. *Cui lecta potenter erit res, nec facundia deseret hunc, nec lucidus ordo*, was the golden rule of one whose authority will, we are sure, have the greatest weight with Lord Mahon; and this review will not have been written in vain, if catching the eye of the secretary of the India Board, our remarks should make the impression we desire upon his judgment. Many lines of the Art of Poetry of Horace, from which we quote this passage, might indeed be read with greater advantage by the statesman, than by the poet.

We infer from the references in the margin (always given with commendable care by Lord Mahon), *but more strongly from the contents of these two chapters*, that he has still to consult stores of information of the first authority upon India; and after collecting those references in the plodding way of a plain, honest reviewer, we are quite surprised to see how slight the materials are which have contributed to the construction of these two charming chapters. It cannot be doubted that they would have been written with complete success, if prepared for as Tacitus, or as either of the Plinys must have prepared themselves by a rigorous observance of the precepts of Horace, to write their Germanys, or the life of Agricola, or the Panegyric of Trajan.

The same neglect of the best sources of intelligence gives Lord Mahon's view of Anson's great expedition to the South



Seas,\* the sketchy character of a mere abridgment of Walters's narrative of the voyage which, next to Robinson Crusoe, and Le Boo, has ever been the delight of the young. Written at the time of the expedition, the worthy chaplain's sterling book was not likely to contain much about its secret objects; but the historian, in a succeeding century, could have known, and might have safely revealed them; and he ought to have seized eagerly upon this opportunity of shewing his readers what extraordinary circumstances led to *this hostile opening of the great southern ocean*; as well as what was soon to follow in the voyages of Captain Cook, even now INCOMPLETELY PUBLISHED; and how, at a later period, the same vast region has become the scene of one of the most hopeful religious missions of which the Christian world has had experience, and also that of the most horrid inflictions upon feeble humanity, in the two forms of convict colonization and European invasion. Again, it would not have been unworthy of the occasions presented by Anson's voyage, and by the South Sea bubble, discussed by Lord Mahon in another volume, to have pointed out the contrast of commercial enterprize with that of the southern marauding squadron: and of both with the new colonization of the great islands of the South Sea, in our day.

Official materials exist for much more than all this. *The instructions* † alone to Commodore Anson, are most remarkable, and we believe have never been published. They betray the fact, little to our credit, of orders having been given by the British court to raise the ill-used Indians of South America against the Spaniards; and they prove, that the discontents of the Spanish colonists against the mother country, were familiar to us so long ago as in 1740; although the fatal causes, and dangerous character of those discontents, however well known, did not warn the British government in its dealings with British American colonists twenty years later. These are documents which Lord Mahon has far too much neglected.

The insufficient examination of another class of original and authentic historical memorials, is curiously illustrated in the same volume.

When Vernon's confident account of his good progress in the Spanish West Indies in 1740, was received in London, it led the administration to expose itself to no small ridicule by striking a medal—*'as is asserted,'* says Lord Mahon, 'to celebrate the taking of Carthage, bearing on one side the head of Vernon, with an inscription as *'the avenger of his country.'*' The

\* History of England, &c., vol. iii., p. 48.

† A copy of them may be seen in the library of the late worthy Mr. Upcot.

authority cited for the fact thus intimated as doubtful, is Voltaire's Louis XV., ch. viii., and the curious parallel case of Napoleon's medal of '*the taking of the Tower of London*' in 1804, is appended in a note.

But before mentioning thus slightly the authority upon which the Carthage mistake is imputed to us, it would have been prudent to have looked into the travels of De la Condamine, who was in South America at the time, and who brought back one of the very medals to France with a different inscription,—'*Took Carthage 1741.*'

Nothing, indeed, but Lord Mahon's great sagacity and excellent principles could have conducted him through his task so well, with materials, which for an historian, are too often exceedingly trivial; and some observation of the habitual neglect of the best sources of intelligence respecting public affairs beyond sea, on the part of members of the legislature and of the administration, increases the anxiety with which we look for good proofs that as secretary of the Board of Control, he will deal in a better manner, with the official stores at his command.

Not to insist at present upon the value of original Hindoo, and Mussulman, Chinese, Japan, and even Malay books,\* for the purpose of illustrating the relations of Asiatics and Europeans, it appears to us, that a profound inquiry into the documents (*accompanied by proper secondary materials*), which constitute the Indian history of the period embraced by Lord Mahon's two chapters, with a masterly appreciation of the influence of a higher order of principles in the conduct of human affairs, would lead to conclusions very different to those of his Lordship upon the results of the most important events of that period, and upon the character of the most successful actor in it. We allude to Clive, and his conquests.

'Whatever gratitude Spain owes to her Cortes, or Portugal to her Albuquerque, this—and in its results, more than this—' Lord Mahon asserts, 'is due from England to Clive. Had he never been born, I do not believe that we should—at least in this generation—have conquered Hindostan. *Had he lived longer, I doubt*' it is strangely added, '*if we should—at least in that generation—have lost America.*' (Vol iv. p. 500.)

Without saying one word upon the conjecture as to the supposed success of General Clive, if ever opposed to General Washington; and without carrying further the rapid inquiry on India before 1776, thus glowingly closed, we venture to suggest again, that a deeper insight into the transactions of the time will

\* The Oriental Translation Society has already published a large collection of such works; and we propose, at an early day, to lay an analysis of them before our readers.

justify very different conclusions, both as to the 'bold, bad man,' whose undoubted energy is here rashly set in the place of the better principles which ought to have guided him, and also as to the probable result, had these better principles been more regarded by him.

In surveying the very numerous topics introduced into the two chapters, it is satisfactory to find much that confirms us in this view of Clive and his times; and the spirit in which these chapters conclude is so admirable, that we make no apology for closing our remarks on this part of Lord Mahon's work, with the noble lesson which he addresses to British Statesmen upon our duty and prospects in India:—

'By the downfall of the Portuguese, the Dutch, and, above all, the French power in India, a wide, and still-extending scope was left to that of England. The best chance of supremacy lay in resisting Europeans by Europeans; in setting the skill and energy of one northern race against another. Single handed, the native states fell one by one; some dropping, from their own rottenness, like fruit from a tree; others striving fiercely, but without avail, against us. From the precarious tenure of some two or three petty forts—from the mere Mahratta-ditch of Calcutta, or the 'bound-hedge' of Madras—our empire has spread far and wide; from Ceylon to Gujerât,—from the snows of the Himalaya, to the sea-line of the Sunderbund, along the loftiest mountains and the widest plains in the known world. In India at this moment, the number of our subjects and dependants is in all probability greater than Alexander, than Augustus, than Charlemagne, than Napoleon, ever knew. And if that vast people be as yet low in the scale of nations,—long enslaved, and still debased by a succession of tyrannies, and led astray by foul superstition and revolting rites, their depression gives them only the stronger claims on our sympathy and our care. Never did a government stand more nearly in the parental relation to its subjects than the English government of India. The English are as much superior to the Hindoos—not in natural gifts, but in training, in knowledge, and in principles—as a parent is superior to a child. God grant, that as we hold a parent's place, we may fulfil a parent's duty,—not merely to command and direct, but to enlighten and reform! Formerly, however, we did not act fully on these maxims, and our course in India, though correct for any Asiatic, was yet far below the European rule of right. *Surely it behoves our chief statesmen, of whatever party, to take to heart the awful responsibility which this state of things devolves upon them—to weigh well, and with scrupulous attention, every new appointment made, not only in India itself, but in the Indian department at home. Let them be assured, that even the humblest of these appointments, if unwarily made, may become directly or indirectly the cause of suffering to unprotected millions, often too timid for complaint, or too distant for redress. To these millions let us prove that we have*



higher objects than addition of territory, or accumulation of wealth. Let us aim at the overthrow of the idol-temples, not rashly, nor through violence and persecution, but by affording means to know the truth—their overthrow by the hands of their own worshippers, converted and reclaimed. Let us cast aside for ever the miserable and base fear, lest the Hindoos, as they approach our level of civilisation, may become less patient of our sway. It is, I trust, reserved for British councils in the COMING age, to extend even much further the work auspiciously begun, of good government in India, and to give even to the meanest peasant of that land fresh reason to bless God, in the fulness of his heart, that his lot is cast beneath the Great Company, instead of the rajahs and sultauns of former days.'—Vol. iv. pp. 525.

We live in days of change; and in no department, perhaps, can so complete an official revolution be pointed out, as that which has occurred in regard to the office held by Lord Mahon, since, for example, the time when the appointment of Mr. Creevy, one of his predecessors, was the subject of witty rebukes for its peculiar unsuitableness; and we join cordially in this conclusion of the chapter, which, it is to be hoped, tended directly to his own nomination.

One great characteristic in Lord Mahon's History does his lordship unqualified honour. It is his invariably humane view of all the great questions that interest philanthropists; his rigorous sense of justice, and his generosity even to political opponents. With respect to colonial slavery, that abomination for the extension of which the period of Lord Mahon's History of England did so much evil, and for the difficult extinction of which, that period only saw the dawn, he is uniformly and earnestly the advocate of a more benevolent and wise system.\* Again, when anticipating the wonders of modern commercial enterprise, and manufacturing and engineering science, he as earnestly rebukes the tendency of both to press hard upon the living masses of men, women, and children, too often treated like the machines they help to guide, and too often made the victims of the competition, to the success of which, they so greatly contribute.†

In reference to the horrible oppressions in gaols exposed in 1731, there is a passage in the second volume of this history which we cannot help extracting, as indicative of the author's kindness of heart, and general benevolence of principle.

After selecting some dreadful instances of barbarity from the most authentic documents, he concludes:—

'Such atrocities, in a civilised country, must fill every mind with

\* History of England, &c., vol. ii., p. 5.

† History of England, &c., vol. ii. pp. 36, 37.

horror: and it is still more painful to reflect, that for very many years, perhaps, they may have prevailed without redress. How often may not the cry of such unhappy men have gone forth, and remained unheeded! How still more frequently may not their sufferings have been borne in constrained, or despairing silence! The benevolent exertions of Howard (whom that family, fertile though it be in honours, might be proud to claim as their kinsman), and still more the gradual diffusion of compassionate and Christian principles, have, we may hope, utterly rooted out from amongst us any such flagrant abuses at the present time. *Yet let us not imagine that there is no longer any tyranny to punish, any thralldom to relieve. Let not the legislature be weary of well doing!* Let them turn a merciful eye, not merely to the suffering, and perhaps guilty man, but to the helpless and certainly unoffending child! FOR MY PART, I FIRMLY RELY ON THE PROGRESSIVE MARCH OF HUMANITY. In a barbarous age, it was confined to men of our country. In a half-barbarous age, it was confined to men of our religion. Within our time, it was extended only to men of our colour. But as time shall roll on, I am persuaded that it will not be limited even to our kind; that we shall feel how much the brute creation, also, is entitled to our sympathy and kindness, and that any needless or wanton suffering inflicted upon them will on every occasion arouse, and be restrained by indignation and disgust'—Vol. ii., p. 229.

So in the great case of the wrongs of Ireland, Lord Mahon is eminently considerate, and just. Thus he concludes a powerful summary of her wrongs, with these few striking words:—

'We must concur with the excellent Bishop Berkely, in lamenting the neglect of the Irish language. . . . . How dark a shadow have by-gone abuses cast forward, even over our own times! How large a share of the previous animosities which still prevail in Ireland are clearly owing, not to any actual pressure felt at present, but only to the bitter recollections of the past.—*ib.*, vol. iv., p. 196.

Of fairness to political opponents, there appear to us to be very striking examples throughout his lordship's history; and we select two of them at some length. The first is from the elaborate and beautiful narrative of the last rebellion in Scotland in 1745. After an eloquent eulogium upon the conduct of the Pretender's little army at the defeat of Culloden, Lord Mahon thus describes and denounces the cruel and vindictive course pursued by the victors under the Duke of Cumberland of that day, 'the butcher.'

'Quarter was seldom given to the stragglers and fugitives, except to a few considerately reserved for public execution. No care, or compassion, was shown to their wounded. Nay more, on the following day, most of these were put to death in cold blood, with a cruelty such as never perhaps before or since has disgraced a

British army. Some were dragged from the thickets, or cabins, where they had sought refuge, drawn up in line, and shot, while others were dispatched by the soldiers with the stocks of their muskets. *One farm building, into which some twenty disabled Highlanders had crawled, was deliberately set on fire the next day, and burnt with them to the ground.* The native prisoners were scarcely better treated; and even sufficient water was not vouchsafed to their thirst. To palliate these severities, it was afterwards said in the royal army, that an order had been found in the Pretender's army, that the highlanders, if victorious, should give no quarter. But this pretended order was never shown, or seen; it is utterly at variance with the insurgents' conduct in their previous battles; and was often and most solemnly denied by their prisoners.'

The same cruel spirit prevailed in the cool infliction of vengeance after the excitement of this fatal battle must have subsided.

'It would have been a task welcome to most generals,' adds Lord Mahon, 'and not unbecoming in any, to have tempered justice with mercy—to reserve the chief or principal delinquents for trial and punishment, but to spare, protect, and conciliate the people at large. Not such, however, was the Duke of Cumberland's opinion of his duty. Every kind of havoc and outrage was not only permitted, but, I fear we must add, encouraged. Military licence usurped the place of law, and a fierce and exasperated soldiery were at once judge, jury, and executioner. In such transactions, it is natural and reasonable to suppose that the Jacobites would exaggerate their own sufferings, and the wrongs of their opponents, nor, therefore, should we attach much weight to mere loose and vague complaints. But where we find specific cases alleged, with names and dates, attested on most respectable authority, by gentlemen of high honour and character, by bishops and clergymen of the episcopal church, in some cases, even by members of the victorious party, then are we bound not to shrink from the truth, however displeasing the truth may be. From such evidence it appears that the rebels' country was laid waste, the houses plundered, the cabins burnt, the cattle driven away. The men had fled to the mountains, but such as could be found were frequently shot; nor was mercy always granted even to their helpless families. In many cases, the women and children, expelled from their homes, and seeking shelter in the clefts of the rocks, miserably perished of cold and hunger. Others were reduced to follow the track of the marauders, humbly imploring for the blood and offal of their own cattle, which had been slaughtered for the soldiers' food! *Such is the avowal which historical justice demands.* But let us turn from further details of these painful and irritating scenes, or of the ribald frolics and revelry with which they were intermingled—*races of naked women on horseback for the amusement of the camp at Fort Augustus.*'—Vol. iii., pp 460—464.

These were the utterly defenceless acts of the soldiery, after



the conflict was over. The judicial proceedings at a later period were in the same bad spirit. They far surpassed in violence similar proceedings thirty years before, after the rebellion of 1715, and Lord Mahon impartially remarks, that, 'in general, time effects a happy change in opposite directions. The aggravation, in this case, must be ascribed to the Duke of Cumberland, who, even after his return to London, continued, as we are told, to press for *'the utmost severity.'*'

Among the ministers of the day, one whom Lord Mahon delights to speak of, in the highest terms of panegyric, and whose ill reputation as a teacher of morals, he has vindicated cautiously, and not without some success, acted warmly and humanely on behalf of the miserable Highlanders. 'While all his colleagues thought only of measures of repression—the dungeon or the scaffold—disarming acts, and abolition acts, Lord Chesterfield, after the rebellion, 'was for schools and villages, to civilise the highlands.'

So also he gives Lord Chesterfield due credit for the admirable administration of Ireland, in which a spirit of conciliation produced unwonted tranquillity, and which has been rewarded by the long enduring gratitude of the Irish people.

The foregoing vindication of the claims of humanity in the case of the Jacobites, to whose cause Lord Mahon is certainly no friend, although he thus so well proves that he can do them justice, is quoted at greater length than another which follows, in which his lordship also proves, that he can condemn, with equal severity, a breach of duty on the part of British protestants, towards an enemy of another character, and elevate with honourable acknowledgement, the merits of the Romish missionaries, however little he sympathises with them in the peculiar articles of their faith.

'In the autumn of 1759, the Cherokee Indians commenced hostilities against our back settlements in their usual cruel manner of ravages, murder, and scalping. This savage tribe had at the beginning seemed to espouse our cause in the war against the French. A fort called Londoun had been built in their country, at their own desire; and they had sent some parties to our aid in our last expedition against Fort Duquesne. It is supposed that they were either on that occasion offended by English haughtiness, or since, gained over by French emissaries. Mr. Lyttleton, then governor of South Carolina, marched against them at the head of one thousand men, and by the terror of his approach, compelled them to a treaty of peace. But no sooner had he returned to Charlestown, than the attacks and outrages recommenced. The affrighted settlers applied to General Amherst, who, in June 1760, sent to their aid a body of twelve hundred men, under Colonel Montgomery.

‘This officer carried the war into the Cherokee country; but far from setting the savages an example of Christian forbearance, thought himself justified, or compelled, in retaliating on them their own barbarities. The Indian villages were first plundered, and then set on fire. It is acknowledged by the English historians, that all the men that were taken, suffered immediate death, and that some were burned in their houses.

‘A Roman catholic writer might find some pleasure in dwelling on the contrast between the protestants of Carolina, and the Jesuits of Paraguay.’—*ib.* vol. ii. p. 291.

The price of the barbarous massacre was soon exacted. When Colonel Montgomery withdrew, the Cherokee nations returned to attack the British fort established in their country; took it by capitulation on honourable terms to a garrison of two hundred men; suffered them to march about fifteen miles on their way to the British head quarters; and then perfidiously attacking them, put all the officers, except one, to death; and kept the common men prisoners, until they were ransomed.

Turning to those large portions of the History of England, from the peace of Utrecht, which seem to constitute the favourite, as they are unquestionably by far the most successful of the author's labours, *the portraits and characters of distinguished personages*, we offer our humble, but sincere tribute of thanks, for this valuable addition to the *national gallery*, for the first half of the last century. For important corrections of the history of that period, an acknowledgment is due to his industry and judgment, but the fine taste and spirit, the discrimination and fairness with which Atterbury, the famous Bishop of Rochester, Lord Stanhope, Caroline the queen of George the Second, Lord Grenville, Sir John Barnard, Sir W. Wyndham, Pitt, Walpole, Lord Chancellor Hardwick, the younger Pretender, Lord Chesterfield, Bute and Mansfield, Wolfe, and many others, not omitting the three unfortunate governors of the French settlements in India, La Bourdonnaye, Dupleix, and Lolly Tolendal, are here presented to us, as they lived and acted, their eloquence, and even persons and manner, will rank this history with the most delightful books in the language. It may be anticipated that at no distant day, a collection of these historical extracts will be published separately from the rest of the work, and along with those of Clarendon, of Hume, and some others that may be found among our early and late writers, form an acceptable British Plutarch, for readers of all ages. We close our notice of the History with a few of the shortest of these portraits, some of them being only bold miniatures, or, at best, cabinet pieces.

We have not space for the very remarkable character of Lord Carteret, afterwards Earl Granville (vol. ii., p. 81, and vol.

iv., p. 25) ; and the omission will be justified by the acute remark of Lord Mahon, that with all his splendid accomplishments as a scholar, orator, and statesman, 'he neither fills, nor deserves to fill any very high niche in the temple of fame.'

The eloquence of the elder Pitt is of course referred to, and the following will furnish our readers with the noble author's estimate of it :—

'Let us now endeavour closely to view, and carefully to judge that extraordinary man, who, at his outset, was pitied for losing a cornetcy of horse, and who, within twenty years, had made himself the first man in England, and England the first country in the world. He had received from nature a tall and striking figure, aquiline and noble features, and a glance of fire. Lord Waldegrave, after eulogising the clearness of his style, observes that his eye was as significant as his words. In debates, his single look could sometimes disconcert a speaker opposed to him. His voice most happily combined sweetness and strength. It had all that silvery clearness, which, at the present day, delights us in Sir William Follett's ; and even when it sunk to a whisper, it was distinctly heard ; while its higher tones, like the swell of some majestic organ, could peal and thrill above every other earthly sound. . . . .

After noticing that *gout*, derived from his birth, not dissipation, had confined him to a sick room from early life, the historian adds :—

'Of his leisure for study Lord Chatham had availed himself with assiduous and incessant care. Again and again he read over the classics ; not as pedants use, but in the spirit of a poet and a philosopher ; not nibbling at their accents and metres, but partaking in their glorious aspirations ; warmed by the flame, not raking in the cinders. For style, Demosthenes was his favourite among the ancients ; among the English, Bolingbroke and Barrow. But, perhaps, our best clue to Lord Chatham's own mental tastes, more especially in the field of oratory, is afforded by those which he afterwards so successfully enjoined to his favourite son. It may be stated on the authority of the present Lord Stanhope, that Mr. Pitt, being asked to what he principally ascribed the two qualities for which his own eloquence was most conspicuous—namely, the lucid order of his reasoning, and the ready choice of his words—answered, that he believed he owed the former to an early study of the Aristotelian logic, and *the latter to his father's practice in making him every day, after reading over to himself some passage in the classics, translate it aloud, and continuously, into English prose.*

'Nor was Lord Chatham less solicitous as to his own action and manner, which, according to Horace Walpole, was as studied and successful as Garrick's : but his care of it extended not only to speeches, but even in society . . . .



‘ In his oratory, his most elaborate speeches were his worst; and that speech which he delivered on the death of Wolfe, and probably intended as a masterpiece, was universally lamented as a failure. But, when without forethought, or any other preparation than the talents which nature had supplied and education cultivated, Chatham rose—stirred to anger by some sudden subterfuge of corruption, or device of tyranny—then was heard an eloquence never surpassed either in ancient or in modern times. It was the highest power of expression ministering to the highest power of thought. Dr. Franklin declares that in the course of his life he had heard sometimes eloquence without wisdom, and often wisdom without eloquence. In Lord Chatham only had he seen both united.—vol. iii. p. 17.

One example of ‘ the great commoner’s successful eloquence, the occasion upon which *single speech* Hamilton delivered his famous oration, and on which Lord Chesterfield’s much-tutored son failed for ever,—that occasion being one upon two war treaties with Russia and Hesse, is given as follows:—

‘ At length up rose Pitt, as Horace Walpole, who was present, well describes him,—haughty, defiant, conscious of recent injury and of supreme abilities.—‘ *He* surpassed himself, and then I need not tell you that he surpassed Cicero and Demosthenes. What a figure would they, with their formal, laboured cabinet orations, make by the side of his manly vivacity and dashing eloquence, at one o’clock in the morning, after sitting in that heat for eleven hours! He spoke above an hour and an half with scarce a bad sentence.’ Such descriptions must make us more than ever regret the utter absence, or what is even worse, the glaring imperfections of reports in that age. Of this splendid declamation against the treaties of subsidy, by far the greater part has perished; one celebrated passage, however, on the coalition between Newcastle and Fox, is happily preserved.—‘ It strikes me now!’ exclaimed Pitt, raising his hand to his forehead, ‘ I remember that at Lyons I was taken to see the conflux of the Rhone and Soane,—the one a gentle, feeble, languid stream, and though languid, of no depth;\* the other, a boisterous and impetuous torrent: but different as they are, they meet at last—and long,’ he added, with bitter irony, ‘ long may they continue united, to the comfort of each other, and to the glory, honour, and security of this nation.’

‘ Such was the great genius, who, in office, smote at once both branches of the house of Bourbon, and armed his countrymen to conquest in every clime; while at home (a still harder task!) he dissolved the old enmities of party prejudices, quenced the last lin-

\* *Note by Lord Mahon.*—‘ Any one who gazes on the Soane, in almost any part of its course, will be struck with the aptness of Cæsar’s description:—*Flumen est Arar, quod per fines Æduorum, et Sequanorum in Rhodanum influit incredibili lenitate, ita ut oculis, in utramque partem fluit, judicare non possit.*’—*De B. G. lib. i. c. 12.*

gering sparks of Jacobinism, and united Whigs and Tories in an emulous support of his administration.\*

These extracts are limited to the passages upon Lord Chatham's studies, his eloquence, and its general influence. Further characteristics of his genius are given in great detail by Lord Mahon, who justly treats the topic as one of very great importance in the history of the last century; and Chatham is one of his lordship's favourite and successful studies.

This admiration of the vast talents of one who stands pre-eminent in all English history as a *war* minister, is unquestionably just, and consistent with the range of Lord Mahon's views upon the duty of British statesmen in reference to national aggrandisement—views which many will be disposed to condemn—but it remains to observe, that some inconsistency arises from this homage to the star of his time being rapidly followed in his lordship's pages by something more than an apology for the character of George the Third, who so soon subjected that star to a fatal eclipse. The portrait, or rather, indeed, panegyric, of George the Third, which is given a little hastily at the beginning of his reign, (vol. iv. p. 309), is, we venture to say—one which the future volumes of Lord Mahon's History will not justify.

The portrait of Lord Bute (vol. iii. p. 33) is a melancholy comment upon the wane of the best kingly qualities in him who could take such a man into councils which a Chatham was no longer permitted to guide, although the historian admits he was on the point of gaining for this country an accession of colonial dominion which would have thrown all the past, and almost all present greatness into the shade.—(vol. iv. p. 363.)

Sir Robert Walpole is acquitted by Lord Mahon of direct, personal corruption, with which he was so vindictively charged in the heat of party dissensions; but his great political crimes of increasing the corrupt influence of money in official life, and of sharing in the most profligate dispensation of the honours of the crown are admitted. He and his wife gained large sums in the South Sea bubble, when more high-minded statesmen avoided the stain. He gave a living of £700 to the Bishop of Chester to marry one of his natural daughters—whom the bishop rejected after he had got the living. He obtained a pension of £4,000 a-year, which popular indignation compelled him, at the time, to abandon; and he got a patent of rank for another natural daughter, which he would afterwards gladly have seen cancelled to escape the same indignation.—(vol. iii. p. 158.)

Lord Chancellor Hardwicke has received, as he deserved, the

\* History of England, &c., vol. i. p. 38; vol. iii. p. 17; and vol. iv. p. 83.

highest meed of panegyric (vol. iii. p. 48) that perhaps could be expressed in so few words:—

‘The family of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke was neither rich nor old. He owed his elevation solely to himself, to high character, extensive knowledge, and eminent abilities. He was born in 1690; the son of Mr. Yorke, an attorney, at Dover; and at the early age of twenty-two we find him among the smaller contributors to the *Spectator*.\* He was a member of the House of Commons in 1718, and solicitor general in 1720. Distinguishing himself in all the stages of his profession, he became chancellor in 1737, and continued such for nearly twenty years. Never was there high office more worthily or honourably filled. If we compare him to Somers—yet how difficult to assign the palm between two such mighty names!—we should say, perhaps, that Somers was the more distinguished as a statesman, but Yorke the superior as a magistrate. His decisions have ever been revered as great landmarks in our law; nor has calumny once dared to breathe against the uprightness of his motives. Amidst a degenerate age—while a too prevalent corruption had deeply tainted the state—his judge’s ermine, like the fleece of Gideon, shone forth unsullied and pure. As an orator, he was never warm or impassioned, but clear, weighty, and convincing. When he rose in debate, it seemed, says Lord Lyttleton, like Public Wisdom speaking. His knowledge, high as it soared in his own department, was not confined to it; in literature he was accomplished; with foreign affairs well acquainted. The principal blemish which his enemies imputed to him, and probably not without some truth, was avarice. Yet it should be borne in mind, that chancellors are easily, but unjustly exposed to this charge, from being contrasted with their colleagues and associates, men in general of hereditary fortunes and large expense, whilst the head of the law, on the contrary, must endeavour to found a family, and earn an estate, and not leave his son, as a poor peer, a burden on his country. This endeavour every thoughtless spendthrift, or envious detractor, may call avarice; but should not the historian award it a nobler name?’—vol. iii. p. 199.

Clive, we repeat, is depicted too kindly; and we feel quite assured that if another such brilliant adventurer should in our day attempt to carry British power beyond the Himalayan mountains by the methods which he pursued to establish it about Calcutta, his too easy apologist in these pages, would not hold office one hour in support of the repetition of such iniquity, or consent to let it go unpunished.

Lord Mahon does great justice to the last three unfortunate governors of our last rivals in India—the French, namely, Mahè de la Bourdonnais, Dupleix, and Lally Tolendal. He

\* Mr. Yorke, afterwards Lord Chancellor, was the author of a letter on Travelling, in No. 364.



justly denounces the scandalous treatment which all these men received from those they served too well. The last, as is generally known, was put to death in Paris, in the year 1766, under circumstances that will eternally disgrace his judges, and the government of France. Lord Mahon should have added, that after a struggle of twenty years, his heroic son obtained the revocation of the sentence, and restored his father's name to the honour that was dearer to him than the life which only had been sacrificed beyond recall.

In the survey of French misrule upon Indian affairs, the English historian marks with unsparing indignation, the sufferings inflicted on this legally-murdered man; he shows that La Bourdonnais after a long imprisonment, and a trial of three years, was acquitted of all delinquency, but allowed to die of protracted sickness and a broken heart, leaving a widow to receive the pension paid by a government too late repentant; and he eloquently tells of the fate of Dupleix, 'reduced to the most deplorable indigency, compiling in some garret another fruitless memorial, or waiting for many a weary hour in some under-secretary's ante-chamber, until he, too, expired sick at heart, and broken in fortune, a victim to the *system of that day*.' (vol. iv. p. 470.)

These melancholy cases furnish one of the lessons from the historian's study, which he must boldly take with him into his closet in Cannon Row, where the practice of the Indian government, like that of our Colonial office in Downing Street, not the law and constitution of England, excludes the victims of error or malignity from the power of being *heard*;\* and where redress of the deepest injury is to be obtained only by the combination of influence, or through the 'chapter of accidents.'

The portrait of Charles Edward, the pretender, is at full length, and drawn with great discrimination, good feeling, and success. As was indispensable to mark the true character of that last unfortunate representative of a line of kings, the picture is drawn for him at several periods of his life. It is too long to be extracted; but, together with the whole narrative of the rebellion of 1745, we commend it to the perusal of all who love the romance of reality; and can sympathize, while they condemn.

The sameness of political narrative is relieved by Lord Mahon's essays on subjects belonging to the period before him. The eighteenth chapter, accordingly, is on the head *literature*; and treats well of a few branches of the book-learning of the

\* See the cases of Colonel Frith and the Rajah of Satara, appended to *THE RIGHT TO BE HEARD*; by S. Bannister, formerly attorney-general of New South Wales, second edition.

time, of the excellent style of 'the great writers of Queen Anne's reign;' of dramatic unity; and of licencing plays for the stage. These topics can hardly be said to furnish materials for a just judgment upon the literature of the first half of the eighteenth century. But a curious and useful discussion of another topic—the result of *state encouragement to literature*—is introduced with much effect.

From 1688 to 1721, all parties vied with each other in honouring literature, and elevating the condition of learned men. The advantages of office or wealth were showered on Sir Isaac Newton, on Locke, Steele, Prior, Gay, Parnell, Pope, Addison, Tickell, and Congreve. In 1714, an Act was passed providing a most liberal reward for the discovery of the longitude. Swift became dean of St. Patrick's, and, but for the queen's dislike, says Lord Mahon, would have been bishop of Hereford. All this was done, too, he insists, without the least infringement upon the independence or self-respect of authors.

To this sunshine there succeeded, under Sir Robert Walpole's ministry, 'a bleak and barren winter,' in the misery of which the imprudent man, like Savage, starved, and even the prudent such as Johnson, long pined neglected.

His lordship does not follow out the subject in all its facts, and to the fair inferences to be drawn from them. But he observes with great force, that the literary profits, even of our golden days, do not in all respects supply the place of patronage by the state. He concludes boldly, 'that any minister who might have the noble ambition to become the patron of literary men, would still find a large field open to his munificence; that his intercourse with them on the footing of equal friendship would be a deserved distinction to them, and a liberal recreation to himself; and that his favours might be employed with great advantage, and received with perfect independence.' (vol. iii. p. 336.)

An extraordinary oversight is made in the rapid historical introduction of the chapter on literature, where it is asserted that 'throughout all the states of Europe, the literature of the middle ages was nearly the same; and that in Spain and Italy, as in France and England, the learned few, five centuries ago, equally lost themselves in the mazes of Thomas Aquinas, and trod in the beaten tracks of Aristotle; while their lighter hours were amused with Latin quibbles, and Leonine verses.' (vol. iii. p. 317.)

Now few men have proved themselves better acquainted with modern Spain than Lord Mahon; and he should not have forgotten the very remarkable fact, for it would have much helped

his argument in favour of the state patronage of literature, that in that very country, five hundred years ago, a king of Arragon both wrote well himself, and, by his liberality, greatly promoted good writing by others in the *vernacular* tongue, the Catalan. This great king and his successors, for more than a century, who were themselves writers distinguished for learning, most successfully patronized native literature of every kind, at a time when neither England, France, or Germany, says our author, possessed a single poet capable of using the language of the country in verse or prose.\*

The class of histories to which Lord Mahon's work may be said to belong, has been described in an able address to a French literary society, as wanting in schools, and colleges, under the apt denomination of *Histoire anecdotique et morale*, consisting of original incidents of every kind, simply told in a dramatic form as they occurred; and as distinguished from mere abridgments consisting of dates, of great events, and catalogues of kings, or of sieges and battles. This improved method of writing history, says the Count Du Coetlosquet, in the address referred to, might be applied to the youngest readers, and teach them a lesson of maternal affection, by using the very words of Cornelia when showing her children as her best treasures; of friendship, in the story of Damon and Pythias; of conjugal affection in that of the wives of Winsberg;—and of every virtue and good quality, in terms that might be presented in the liveliest manner, and with the best effect, for such young minds. Instead, also, of long and learned dissertations on points of antiquarian research, on legislation, and national manners, with which our histories are filled, and which are excellent in their proper place, the same method of developing the history of all times by a succession of genuine anecdotes, would be most attractive, and therefore most useful to illustrate *moral* points fit to be impressed on somewhat older minds, as well as points of *public policy*, in which all are interested.†

Lord Mahon's History of England is a perfect model of a work framed upon this principle of dramatic writing, however imperfect it must be confessed to be in reference to some higher qualities of historical composition to which it makes a pretension. A future Tacitus, or Polybius, who writes the history of the period

\* *Melanges sur les Langues et les Patois; art. Recherches Historiques sur la langue Catalane* par M. Fr. Faubert de Passa correspondant de l'Institut de France. Paris: 8vo. pp. 336. 1831.

† *Memoire* par M. Le Comte Du Coetlosquet. *Congres Scientifique de France; cinquieme Session.* Metz, 1837. p. 494.



which Lord Mahon has chosen, will find this work indispensable, and turn to it again and again with delight; but a Tacitus, and a Polybius are still wanting, the one duly to pourtray the character of a period which his Lordship honestly admits to have been eminently corrupt, the other to show what was defective in the brilliant men who did so much for the glory of England abroad, yet failed to place their glory on a sufficiently sure basis, to avert, within the term of their own lives, the dismemberment of the empire, by the loss of thirteen of the American colonies. He does not treat this part of his subject on a sufficiently large scale, nor attempt to present in a broad light the facts which led to that loss. He rashly hazards the opinion already mentioned, that if Clive had lived, the American colonies would not have successfully rebelled. But even the meagre accounts to be found in this history on the affairs of those colonies before the days of Wolfe, contain strong grounds against that opinion. The volunteers of New England, in 1745, under a commander chosen by themselves, 'Mr. Pepperel, a private gentleman, in whom courage and sagacity supplied the place of military skill,' (vol. iii., p. 299) achieved over strongly posted and well disciplined French troops, a conquest, far surpassing in difficulty whatever was done by us in India. The military operations of the time in this quarter of the globe are not sufficiently dwelt upon by Lord Mahon; but it is not on that side so much that we venture to make these observations, as it is in reference to the absence of all comment upon the civil progress of the American colonies in the period of his history. Where Berkeley carried his enthusiasm, and his genius; where Oglethorpe executed an unusually large plan of colonisation; where Wesley and Whitfield, whose missions at home are topics of careful examination by Lord Mahon, extended their personal zeal; where Franklin had already shown, by his sagacity, that the new world could rival the old one in science; where, as Lord Mahon remarks, Washington was already known; where, too, not only military glory was to be gained, but experiments of colonial settlement were then making, which his Lordship is well aware, are of the highest interest to us now; and where, lastly, as he also knows, and deeply feels, a race of aborigines not excelled by any in many natural gifts, were sinking under our superior power, *because not helped by the proper use of our superior acquirements*, and were not aided by the admirable principles and proceedings of the Elliots, the Penns, the Brainards, the Franklins, and the Washingtons, ever their unshrinking friends in will, but wanting in a system to influence society and the law in favour of justice towards the objects of their sincere and generous sympathy. On all these accounts, the subject of

the American colonies ought to have had a fair share of attention; but one peculiar motive for discussing these affairs, remains. At the latter end of the period, closed with the last volume of Lord Mahon's history, a revolution in colonial policy was working, similar to another immense change in this policy which has been going on during the last nine years; and that nine years change has received its completion in the very month his Lordship joined the ministry which has completed it.

The policy which prevailed in the settlement of the old American colonies had, at the end of George the Second's and the beginning of George the Third's reign, become governed by one idea,—namely, that the sea-board must be kept in sight wherever our power extended, in order that our ships might cover our colonies and keep in check the infringements upon the trade of the mother country, which occurred in spite of our acts of parliament. Against this policy, the voluntary extension of settlement to the west was perpetually struggling. Hence arose the enormous evil of *squatting*, which cannot possibly be prevented, except by extending interior settlements upon a wise *system* of government. Such a system was asked for in vain during a quarter of a century before the breaking out of the old American war of independence. It was conceded too late. The war of 1776 broke out; and one of the very first acts of the American Congress was to organise into a state a population of thirty thousand people, to whom the British Government had long refused law and colonial institutions. The refusal to change the old system was one of the causes of the American war, not often noticed. So in our time, during the last fifteen years, and since the revival of our old colonizing spirit in England, a policy of resistance to the extension of colonies has prevailed, partly on the ground of economy, partly on that of philanthropy. In the mean time the colonists, and large bodies of the people, have colonized without law; but after a remarkable declaration by Lord Howick (now Earl Grey), that he had abandoned his error in supporting a policy only adopted '*for want of information*,' and after the two New Zealand debates, more remarkable *in all respects* than any which have occurred for many years in parliament, the ministry of Sir Robert Peel has acted upon a new principle favourable to colonization,—Sir Robert Inglis being the only member of the House of Commons who, on philanthropic grounds, adhered to the anti-colonizing policy thus condemned as erroneous. Some members who on former occasions, either within the walls of parliament or in popular addresses, such as Mr. Sharman Crawford and Mr. Cobden, and the school of Sir W. Parnell, had joined in the

outcry against colonies as a ground of our public policy, now silently withdrew their opposition.

This change cannot be pursued without much more discussion; and the philanthropists, who, with good intentions, have long struggled to stop, what they ought, and might assist in guiding, namely, the spread of civilized man over the globe, must now apply themselves diligently to the devising of legitimate means for resolving the grand problem, how that spreading can be effected to the mutual good of the people who spread, and the aborigines among whom they settle.

Lord Mahon is a professed, and we believe, a sincere, philanthropist, without being one of those often seen at benevolent meetings; and we regret that he has not in this history seized upon the good opportunity offered by the course of North American affairs under his hands, to contribute to the prudent and intelligent advancement of the cause of philanthropy; as well as of every other great interest connected with colonization.

Upon another subject, *the South Sea bubble*, his lordship has neglected the true use of the case, *its universal application*; and the clear distinction to be drawn between that melancholy precedent of national dishonour as well as delusion, and our present dangers, arising from *railway gambling*. There is enough doing now, of a disgraceful character, in this gambling to justify severe and repeated cautions. But the basis of the two enterprises essentially is different. In the South Sea bubble all was fiction and folly. In our time the main facts of each case are within the reach of everybody; and the burdens spread over the universal surface of the empire, as the weight of each set of operations is necessarily borne by a separate set of resources. Lord Mahon should have seized upon this chapter of his history to offer his readers a great, but a discriminating lesson.

In point of style, it is to be wished that a few instances of false wit, and a few conceits, may be expunged in the future editions to which the work must run. Perhaps passages might be amended by aiming at a thoroughly English style. The language is too often trivial and common,\* without being of the purest English.

Upon the whole, we do not hesitate to say that Lord Mahon's History of England from the Peace of Utrecht, should have a place

\* After noting rather a long list of short passages and words, meant to have been cited in support of these criticism, we prefer leaving our general remark, to filling up an ungracious catalogue of little faults.

Where so much has been done in good taste, and ably, it is enough to make the general remark; and to trust that the same good taste may be safely left to do its proper work hereafter.



upon every one of the tens of thousands of bookshelves now laden with Hume and Smollet; and whoever pretends to follow critically the progress of modern British history of any period, will not fail to seek with a strong interest whatever proceeds from his lordship's pen. In an early number we shall take a rapid survey of his other works; and include in it a notice of his present official career as Indian secretary.

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Art. V.—*Rhymes and Recollections of a Hand Loom Weaver*, by William Thom, of Inverury. Second edition, with Additions.—London: Smith, Elder and Co. Cornhill.

IN Aberdeenshire, a small market-town, known as Inverury, exists,—a town not altogether unknown to fame. The 'bonny water' that flows by it, Thomas, the Rhymer sang. The Bass, dark with its green foliage, according to local legends, may well be termed Golgotha—the place of skulls. In a neighbouring plain was the battle of Harlaw fought, where Donald of the Isles mowed, like grass, the chivalry of the south. Its memory yet lives in no ignoble verse; and it was in the town itself that the Bruce watching the spider, as it struggled to climb the ceiling, learned perseverance and success. There, till recently, lived and struggled, William Thom—one of those men whom the land 'of the mountain rock and river,' every now and then, nurtures in her rough but kindly bosom. In spite of its austerity of manners, Scotland is a land rich in poetic lore. Every brook racing down the mountain side, or lying calm and silent at its foot, every brown heath stretching far away beneath the summer sun—every glen, every forest, is peopled with poetic creations, every ivy-clad tower has its legend of hapless love. The name of Burns is yet cherished by all hearts, and not a child breathes there who knows not of Tam O'Shanter and his grey mare Meg, and to whose bosom the odes and songs of that rare child of genius are not as living fire. No wonder then that emotion, passion, fear and hope, struggle into song—no wonder then the hungry and toilworn weaver, when the storm of life has left him homeless and bare, seeks solace and restraint in poetry. Writing verses, though they be but indifferent, the most strenuous utilitarian must confess is not such a very bad substitute for rick-burning. Among such craftsmen, we believe that, were we to seek, we should find, if not a Burns or a Nicoll—many a William Thom; patient in the endurance of want and work, toiling and struggling, as men only do in Great Britain, in this the

nineteenth century, yet having the high hopes and fervid aspirations of poetry—‘the vision and the faculty divine.’

But we turn to our author himself; and the prose poem of his life. Like most lives of the same class, it tells of many a hard struggle—many a dark cloud—many a bitter hour. As is generally the case amongst workmen, the factory system finds but little favour in the eyes of Thom. He deems it his duty to expose it as it once stood in our ‘moral north;’ fairly to put the knife into the dead monster, lay bare its dark core, dissect it in broad day, that the world may see who had the fat, and who had the famine portion of that heartless trading.’ This state of things we rejoice to learn no longer exists; but thus was it in Aberdeen, in the School Hill Factory—‘a prime nursery of vice and sorrow,’ when Thom was employed there; where ‘man became less manly, and woman unlovely and rude;’ he grew up as most, whether poets or not, do grow up. In 1814, when Thom began weaving, its golden age had already passed. No longer did the skilful workman earn forty shillings with four days’ work, and make the rest of the week a jubilee. The earnings had fallen from forty to six, and on that sum the weaver had to drag out a miserable and precarious existence. But even for him sometimes there was God’s glorious sunshine, and God’s green and living earth.

‘The garden of Gordon’s hospital lay close by our work, and was at the time open to all during every day. There was quietness there, though encircled by noisy streets. There, of a summer day, we would meet, those of us who had a turn for reading, and gossip over all we knew of books and the outer world. Then came glimpses—the only glimpses afforded us, of true, and natural, and rational existence. Then would the shuttle rest for a time, and ‘a little time yet—a harder and a longer pull to-morrow, will keep soul and body acquainted, and our utmost does no more.’—p. 13.

The works of English and Scottish poets were here Thom’s companions, and writing poetry, the next step to reading it, was, in his case, a step speedily taken; or rather he committed to paper the poetry that had its home deep in his heart, and waited but the appointed hour. But our bard had no idea of writing for the mere sake of writing. Such an enjoyment is far too selfish for your true poet. In these days, one must print; and with beating heart, his first born was placed in the office of the Aberdeen Journal. The day came when it was to be seen how the question ‘to be, or not to be,’ had been settled by that literary despot, the newspaper editor.

‘One special crony, and only one, was in confidence, and no

mean sharer was he in the unutterably curious feeling that sets in on the first throes of authorship. Early on the morning of publication, the anxious pair stood watchfully in a court that led to the printing-office. The *confidant* was in that troublesome state known as fidgets, with now and then a qualm, inasmuch as having talked away two days' work, there was not withal to settle up matters in his boarding house that night. The *principal*, although in the very same plight, felt not the very same way. The pain—for pain it was—had no connection with aught on earth, save and except the printing-office on which he gazed. Did his verses exist in *print*? Woes on me! Why don't they buy a paper? Man after man, lad and elderly woman, passed each other with journals at nose, heedless of all beside.

‘ ‘ Ask that man for a peep.’

‘ ‘ Have I not besought it of twenty?’

‘ ‘ Then let us try that chappie coming up.’

‘ ‘ This was meant for a little sulky fellow, who refused flat to open his paper. Patience could do no more; it *becked* away, quite; good manners and honesty followed. We were ‘left to ourselves.’ The obstinate journal-bearer was led into a house entry; we shut the door; and while he kicked and roared, we groped for the ‘Poor Man’s Corner’ in the journal, and were blessed—the song was there.’—p. 18.

But the times were bad, and Thom emigrated further south. At Newtyle, near Cupar Angus, he was fortunate to enjoy, for a time, happiness such as seldom, he tells us, visits man. But certain American houses failing, great was the dismay in the whole county of Forfar. The storm mainly fell on Newtyle. Those who could go elsewhere did so. Those who had families and wives, such as Thom, remained, subsisting on five shillings a week. But this passive starvation cannot be endured for ever—it has its bounds. Thom grew weary of it when the spring came, and resolved to try some other mode of life. We return to his narrative.

‘ Proceeding to Dundee, I there exchanged at a pawnbroker’s a last and most valuable relic of better days, for ten shillings, four of which I spent on such little articles as usually constitute ‘a pack,’ designing this to be carried by my wife, while other four shillings I expended on second-hand books, as a stock of merchandise for myself; but I was very unfortunate in my selection, which consisted chiefly of little volumes, containing abridgments of modern authors, these authors being little to the general taste of a rustic population.’—p. 23.

Thus accoutred, they started on their travels. On the third day, it seems, they had not much bettered their condition. The night became cold and wet, the children tired, and there was for them no other place of rest than the lone wayside. There



sat Thom, watching the troubled sleep of the cold and weary ones, till his brain heated, as well it might, with thoughts dark and dire.

‘My head throbbed with pain, and, for a time, became the tenement of thoughts I would not now reveal. They partook less of sorrow than of indignation, and it seemed to me that this same world was a thing very much to be hated; and on the whole, the sooner that one like me could get out of it, the better for its sake and my own. I felt myself, as it were, shut out from mankind—enclosed—prisoned in misery—no outlook—none! My miserable wife and little ones, who alone cared for me, what would I not have done for their sakes at that hour! Here let me speak out, and be heard too, while I tell it, that the world does not at all times know how unsafely it sits, when despair has loosed honour’s last hold upon the heart, when transcendent wretchedness lays weeping reason in the dust—when every unsympathising onlooker is deemed an enemy;—who *then* can limit the consequences? For my own part, I confess that, ever since that dreadful night, I can never hear of an extraordinary criminal, without the wish to pierce through the mere judicial view of his career, under which I am persuaded, there would often be found to exist an unseen impulse—a chain, with an end fixed in nature’s holiest ground, that drew him on to his destiny.—p. 26.’

At length a good Samaritan passed and pitied them. They were taken to a neighbouring farmer’s. An out-house was furnished with straw and blankets, and there they slept sweetly, whilst from that small family one too young for the hardships that preyed on her frame, was taken. In a day or two, our travellers again started forth, and with fivepence halfpenny, we find them seated at the fireside of a lodging house in Methven. But here a new difficulty presented itself, the demand of the lodging house keeper was sixpence, and that was to be paid before the parties ‘took off their shoon.’ But Thom had a flute. He had never tried that method of raising money before. He was somewhat nervous as to the result, but then Homer had sung the Iliad for bread, and Goldsmith had piped his way over half the continent, and Thom dipped his dry flute in a little burn, and began to play.

‘It rang sweetly among the trees. My music raised one window after another, and in less than ten minutes put me in possession of three shillings and ninepence, of good British money. I sent the mother home with this treasure, and directed her to send our little girl to me. It was by this time nearly dark. Every one says, ‘Things just need a beginning.’ I have had a beginning, and a very good one too. I also had a turn for strathspeys, and there appeared to be a run upon them. By this time I was nearing the middle of the town. When I finally made my way, and returned to my lodging, it

was with five shillings, and some pence, in addition to what was given us. My little girl got a beautiful shawl, and some articles of wearing apparel.—p. 34.

This, however, Thom found to be but beggars' work after all, and it was without regret that he settled down as a weaver at Inverury. Here just as a brighter day began to dawn, his wife—she who had struggled with him through the storm, was taken from him. The sunshine that gleamed on him afterwards, lost half its warmth because she was not there. In a few months the dull season came, and he sent a small poem to the Aberdeen Herald: but that, though it obtained for him praise, had neither clothed nor fed him or his children. Well there was Aberdeen, and the House of Refuge, they must go there, thus Thom thought one cold morning in February. The wearables, such as they were, were packed for the journey, when the postman came with a letter, dated Aberdeen Journal Office. He was not forsaken in that dreary hour. The dark clouds that had hung heavy on his path, vanished, and the poet at length found money and fame.

Let us now pass from the poet to his poetry. This short account of his life will the better have prepared us to appreciate his lays. The verses of a man half clad and half fed are apt to be somewhat rough and rude, and under such circumstances he is likely to say something sharp and stern; they have not the finish of an article for the boudoir or saloon; and Thom's are no exception. But they are of the right stamp—musical and true,—coming from the heart they make their way there at once: and are worth whole folios of poems such as are now daily issuing from the press to the horror and amazement of all who follow what Southey, a reviewer himself, termed the *ungentle* craft. Our space is limited, but we give the poem that brought him first into notice. It is entitled 'the Blind Boy's Pranks.'

Men grew sae cauld, maids sae unkind,

Love kentna whaur to stay.

Wi' fient an arrow, bow, or string,—

Wi' droopin' heart an' drizzled wing,

He faught his lanely way.

'Is there nae mair, in Garioch fair,

Ae spotless hame for me?

Hae politics, an' corn, an' kye,

Ilk bosom stappit? Fie, O fie!

I'll swithe me o'er the sea.'

He launched a leaf o' jessamine,

On whilk he daured to swim,

An' pillowed his head on a wee rosebud,

Syne laithfu', lanely, Love 'gan scud

Down Ury's waefu' stream.

The birds sang bonnie as Love drew near,  
 But dowie when he gaed by ;  
 Till lull'd wi' the sough o' monie a sang,  
 He sleepit fu' soun' and sailed alang  
 'Neath Heav'n's gowden sky !

'Twas just whaur creeping Ury greets  
 Its mountain cousin Don,  
 There wandered forth a weelfaur'd dame,  
 Wha listless gazed on the bonnie stream,  
 As it flirted an' played with a sunny beam  
 That flickered its bosom upon.

Love happit his head, I trow, that time,  
 The jessamine bark drew nigh,  
 The lassie espied the wee rosebud,  
 An' aye her heart gae thud for thud,  
 An' quiet it wadna lie.

'O gin I but had yon wearie wee flower  
 That floats on the Ury sae fair !'  
 She lootit her hand for the silly rose-leaf,  
 But little wist she o' the pawkie thief,  
 Was lurkin' an' laughin' there !

Love glower'd when he saw her bonnie dark e'e,  
 An' swore by Heaven's grace  
 He ne'er had seen, nor thought to see,  
 Since e'er he left the Paphian lea,  
 Sae lovely a dwallin' place !

Syne, first of a', in her blithsome breast,  
 He built a bower, I ween ;  
 An' what did the waefu' devilick neist ?  
 But kindled a gleam like the rosy east,  
 That sparkled frae baith her een.

An' then beneath ilk high e'e bree  
 He placed a quiver there ;  
 His bow ? What but her shinin' brow ?  
 An' O sic deadly strings he drew  
 Frae out her silken hair.

Guid be our guard ! sic deeds waur deen,  
 Roun' a' our countrie then ;  
 An' monie a hangin' lug was seen  
 'Mang furmers fat, an' lawyers lean,  
 An' herds o' common men !

But Thom is also the poet of poverty and grief. He can sing of love, but he can also sing of woe. He has drank at the waters of Marah, as well as at the Castalian spring: 'and the heart



that can feel for another' will not remain in stupid silence when its own sorrows are to be sung—when the memory of its own loved and lost is to be perpetuated in verse. The Jeanie of his warm youth and bitter manhood was early called, but her memory remains fresh and strong in the poet's heart.

### JEANIE'S GRAVE.

'I saw my true love first on the banks of the queenly Tay,  
Nor did I deem it yielding my trembling heart away;  
I feasted on her deep dark eye, and loved it more and more,  
For, oh! I thought I ne'er had seen a look so kind before!

I heard my true love sing, and she taught me many a strain,  
But a voice so sweet, oh! never shall my old ear hear again,  
In all our friendless wanderings, in homeless penury,  
Her gentle song and jetty eye were all unchanged to me.

I saw my true love fade—I heard her latest sigh—  
I wept no frivolous weeping when I closed her lightless eye;  
Far from her native Tay she sleeps, and other waters lave  
The markless spot where Ury creeps around my Jeanie's grave.

Move noiseless, gentle Ury! around my Jeanie's bed,  
And I'll love thee, gentle Ury! where'er my footsteps tread;  
For sooner shall thy fairy wave return from yonder sea,  
That I forget yon lowly grave, and all it hides from me.'

We have introduced the Inverury bard to our readers, and we now leave him to make his way. We congratulate him on the success he has already obtained, and we trust that he will fearlessly and prosperously go on. It speaks well—it bids us take confidence, and have faith in man, that Thom is no longer in want—that men have at length seen that it is better to honour the prophet living, than to build him a sepulchre when dead. Burns died trampled on by the fine lords and ladies who had been amused with him as the play-thing of an hour. Nicoll in song his equal, in all that ennobles and dignifies humanity his superior, could but just earn his daily bread, and went down to his grave worn out at the early age of twenty-three. With Thom it has been otherwise. In the hard struggle with the world, he has neither fainted nor failed; and now the clouds are scattered after the storm, and above him there is the clear blue of heaven and the sunshine. He could have done as the weak hearted have done—there was the halter and the poison for him as well as for them, but he spurned that guilt—he lived in faith and hope, and has met with his reward.

Art VI.—*Letters of Mary Queen of Scotland, selected from the 'Recueil des Lettres de Marie Stuart,' together with the Chronological Summary of Events, during the Reign of the Queen of Scotland.* By Prince Alexander Labanoff. Translated, with Notes and an Introduction, by William Turnbull, Esq., 8vo. London: Charles Dolman.

THE researches of history are correcting many of the judgments of past times. Opinions long current among us, which have been handed down from generation to generation, and to question which has been deemed heretical, in the highest degree, are, in the course of being proved unsound and delusive. This is especially the case with the estimates formed of the leaders of defeated parties. The victors have been permitted to sketch their character, and we need not therefore wonder, if the portraits left are dark and repulsive. They wrote under the influence of temporary passion or of party zeal, and have, in consequence, exaggerated every real defect, or assigned to their subject mere imaginary qualities, which had no existence, save in their own disordered mind. To deny to an opponent the existence of any virtue, and to assign to him whatever qualities awaken reprobation, or induce contempt, has ever been esteemed compatible with party honour. All classes have been guilty in this matter. One after another, as opportunity arose, has practised the evil art of detraction, as though their hostility could not be satisfied without destroying the character of those whose fortunes they had ruined.

The history of the losing party has usually been written by the winner. It has been so from the times of Wat Tyler—to say nothing of more remote days—and various influences have, consequently, been at work to distort the narrative from which posterity was to derive its knowledge of the past. In many cases it was impossible to make out a vindication of the course pursued by the victors, without denying the virtues which the vanquished possessed, or assigning to them crimes of which they were wholly guiltless. This has been the usual resort of power, whether exercised on a large or a small scale, in the church or the world, the Consistory or the Court. In other cases passion availed so to discolour objects, and to present them in such false lights, as to make them appear to the excited spectator other than what they really were. The dominant party, or, at least, many of those who served their purposes and promoted their success, really believed the men whom they aspersed to be as they described them. This need awaken no surprise. Our fathers adjudged men and women for witchcraft, and burnt them accordingly; and many of the Church

publications of the present day will scarcely concede to dissenters the virtues which they allow to Jews, Turks, or Infidels. In some cases this is mere hypocrisy, the utterance of what is known to be false; but, in others, and those not few, it is the conviction of excited and bitter partizanship,—the opinion really entertained by those who are too passionate to be reflecting, or too ignorant to be cognizant of the evidence pertaining to the case adjudged.

We need not, therefore, be surprised at the erroneous judgments on the actors in former scenes of our history, which have been hereditary with our countrymen. The assertors of English liberty in the former part of the seventeenth century, long suffered in this way. The most illustrious men of their race, constituting a line of moral heroes, which have never been surpassed, distinguished alike for public and for private virtue, eminent both in the Senate and in the field, profound in learning, masculine in intellect, versed in the arts of government, and almost superhuman in their knowledge of the human heart; they were proscribed for a century and a half, and their names referred to only as the emblems of whatever was vicious in civil rebellion and ecclesiastical heresy. For a short period their career was full of promise, and the eyes of Europe were drawn towards them with mingled astonishment, admiration, and hatred. But their sun went down while it was yet day. They were before their times, and having scattered the seeds of truth, they perished in prison, in the battle-field, or on the block. Their enemies raised the song of triumph, and it was left to Clarendon and others, the advocates of despotism in Church and State, to asperse their memory and misstate their deeds. The press was in the hands of their victors, and multitudinous was the host of mercenary scribblers who sought bread by vilifying men whom they were incapable of understanding. A reaction, however has taken place. The passion of the age has passed away. Men are become more reflecting, and with that more just. Englishmen have discovered that they have been wronged in this matter, that the brightest page of their history, the purest models of their patriotism, have been kept from them. They begin to feel that the blessings they inherit are but the fruits of the labours of the illustrious dead, and thousands, noble in spirit, if not in name, are repairing with profoundest reverence to the tombs where their fathers rest.

As the leaders of the long Parliament and their precursors were thus wronged by the historians of the Cavaliers, so were the Puritans and Separatists by those of the Episcopalians. The former were the defeated party, and none dared to speak in their defence, whilst Whitgift, Bancroft, Heylin, South, and



a host of others, found their appropriate vocation in defaming men whose disinterestedness and moral heroism shamed their worldlymindedness and servility. As in the former case, however, a new trial has been sued for, and the verdict obtained does justice to the memory of men of whom the world was not worthy.

A third class which has suffered wrong in a similar manner, is that to which the ill-fated Queen, whose letters are now before us, belonged. Happily for the interest of religious truth and civil freedom, the struggle long continued in this kingdom between the papal and the protestant faiths, was finally decided in favour of the latter. In the fact we rejoice, though bitterly sensible of the criminality of many of the measures employed to compass it. There was little of principle, and still less of that which was strictly religious, in the contentions of those on whom the determination of the struggle in England mainly depended. They were the new nobility arrayed against the old, the selfish adherents of power in possession against power in prospect; the men who had fattened on the spoils of the church, against those who assailed their title and charged them with sacrilege. Beneath the surface there were, on both sides, men who regarded the religious as the main element in the struggle; but they acted only a subordinate part, and were not free from the charge of succumbing to power, and of flattering the vices of the great. The scale alternately preponderated according as the sovereign smiled on the one faith or the other. At length, it settled in favour of a pseudo-protestantism, a form of ecclesiastical polity which repudiated the authority of the Pope, whilst it retained as much of popery as suited the despotic temper and religious formalism of Elizabeth. The usual result followed. Popery was denounced as a civil crime, and the advocacy of its principles, or the defence of its adherents, was strictly prohibited. The press was in the hands of the dominant party, and they were not sparing in their efforts to blacken the character, and to vilify the deeds of their opponents. It would have been a noble triumph of principle over passion, of religious integrity over human weakness, if the advocates of the Reformation had respected the limits of truth. There was enough of the terrible to relate, without drawing on the imagination. The testimony of history, was sufficiently explicit and would have told with more salutary and permanent effect, if the redeeming qualities of papal advocates on the one hand, and the defects of Protestant champions on the other, had been honourably admitted. A different course was, however, pursued. The ordinary policy of victors was adopted, and we have had, in consequence, handed down to us, among many others, two imaginary characters, mere fancy sketches; one

entitled 'The good queen Bess,' and the other, 'The bloody Mary!' A calmer and more discriminating judgment is now happily exercised, and the 'Virgin Queen' has, in consequence, declined in popularity, whilst her sister is admitted to have possessed some redeeming qualities, and to be entitled to the benefit of certain extenuating circumstances, not formerly noted. The same process has been going on with another catholic heroine of that age, and with a like result. The character and history of Mary, Queen of Scotland, have recently engaged special attention. Various witnesses have been called into Court on her behalf, and it certainly is not going too far to allege that the issue has been decidedly favourable to her reputation. We do not affirm that every past judgment has been reversed, but it has been clearly shown, that she was free from some of the worst crimes charged upon her, and that in the case of others, though no absolute decision can be arrived at, there is much to incline a candid mind to a favourable decision. We are indebted to Prince Labanoff for a collection of letters, which leaves little to be desired in the way of epistolary illustration of the life of this unhappy princess. With a patience not to be wearied, a diligence which nothing could tire, and a deep interest which rendered difficulties pleasant, and enabled him to surmount them, Prince Labanoff has prosecuted his researches throughout the public libraries and private collections of Europe. The result has been given to the world in seven volumes, which are absolutely indispensable to a correct and thorough knowledge of Mary Stuart and her times.

The volume now before us is a translation of a portion of the Correspondence contained in Prince Labanoff's work, and possesses considerable interest, though not certainly so much as we could have desired. It is difficult to determine on what principle the selection has been made, and the whole is, therefore, wanting in that distinct and definite interest which might have been secured. We should, for instance, have welcomed a selection which was adapted to illustrate the main points of the queen's life, which threw light on her relation to Riccio, on the murder of Darnley, on her marriage with Bothwell, and on the course pursued by the two rival parties which then struggled for the ascendancy in her kingdom. This, however, has not been aimed at by Mr. Turnbull, or rather—for he expressly states that the selection is not his—by those at whose request he undertook the labour of translation. If the volume bear on any one point, it is the devotion of the queen to the papal faith; but even this is only partial, and its value is, in consequence, somewhat diminished. The letters are preceded by an introduction by Mr. Turnbull, and a Chronological Summary of the leading events in the Life of the Queen, by Prince Labanoff.

The latter, extending to 138 pages, is an exceedingly valuable production, and may be read with great advantage.

The letters commence in January 1563, about two years and a half prior to Mary's marriage with Darnley, and we shall proceed to give a few extracts from them, to enable our readers to judge of their worth. The intrigues which preceded that ill-fated marriage, are detailed at length in a memorial, and a letter to the French ambassador in England (pp. 147—155), which throw considerable light on the difficulties of her position, and although marked by bitter crimination, are adapted to induce both sympathy and compassion. We hasten on, however, to the period of her captivity. In May 1568, having been defeated by the Earl of Murray at Langside, Mary resolved to seek shelter in England, whither Elizabeth had frequently invited her. She was received with outward respect, and was conducted to Carlisle by the Lieutenant-Governor, Lowther, 'with all the honours due to her rank.' It was soon apparent, however, that she was a prisoner, in the power of one, who combined with the ambition and remorseless of the other sex, the vain and jealous temperament of her own. A pitiable view is given of her condition, in the following extract from a letter to the Cardinal of Lorraine, dated from Carlisle, June 21, 1568.

'The queen has sent me hither a little linen, and provides me with one dish. The rest I have borrowed, but I cannot do so any more. You will participate in this disgrace. Sandy Clerk, who was in France on behalf of this false bastard, boasts that you will neither provide me with money, nor meddle in my affairs. God tries me severely; however, rest assured that I shall die a catholic: God will relieve me from these miseries very soon. For I have endured injuries, calumnies, imprisonment, famine, cold, heat, flight, not knowing whither, ninety-two miles across the country without stopping or alighting, and then I have had to sleep upon the ground, and drink sour milk, and eat oatmeal without bread, and have been three nights like the owls, without a female in this country, where, to crown all, I am little else than a prisoner. And, in the meanwhile, they demolish all the houses of my servants, and I cannot aid them; and hang their owners, and I cannot compensate them: and yet they all remain faithful to me, abominating these cruel traitors, who have not three thousand men at their command; and, if I had support, the one-half would assuredly leave them. I pray that God may send relief when it pleases him, and that he may give you health and long life.'—pp. 163, 164.

The same subject is referred to in several subsequent letters to Elizabeth, which furnish ample evidence of the severity with which the royal prisoner was treated, though their profession of regard to 'my good sister,' may well be discredited. Mention



is made of the sudden removal and change of her keepers, the harsh treatment and abrupt dismissal of her servants, the interdicting all communication with Scotland and France, the rifling of her trunks, and the entering her chamber with pistols. She was alternately hopeful and despondent, at one moment anticipating her speedy deliverance, and at another, darkly foreboding her cruel end. In a letter, under date of October 16, 1570, she refers to a communication recently received through Cecil and Mildmay, in a tone which painfully contrasts with subsequent epistles. She was evidently full of hope, and the terms in which she alludes to her son, gives a yet darker shade to the heartlessness and brutality with which that son regarded her fate. She speaks of him as 'the most valued jewel which God has given me in this world, and my sole comfort,' and yet that son could be silent, if not acquiescent, during the long captivity and tragical death of his mother. Were it not that we already regard the character of James with superlative contempt, we should hold him in lower esteem from his obvious unworthiness of such parental fondness. The following, dated October 29, 1571, contains a similar reference, while it throws a clear light on the strictness and rigour of her confinement :—

'But now, without further annoying you with the sad and pathetic complaint of an afflicted queen prisoner, I shall venture to address to you this humble and perhaps last request, that you will please for once to give me leave to confer with some one of my people from France; or, if that is not agreeable to you, with some of the attendants of M. de La Mothe, the ambassador from his most Christian Majesty, my good brother, if you do not choose that he himself should take that trouble, in order to an arrangement of my affairs in France, as well for the remuneration of my old servants now banished from my presence, as for the small number now left to me, I know not for how long, and also for the payment of my debts, which, without seeing my accounts, I am unable to discharge according to the duties of my conscience, of which I implore you to have consideration. Although I do not wish to trouble you with what concerns my condition, which, knowing to be of so little consequence to you, I leave to the mercy of God, resolved to live patiently in adversity and prison as miserable as he pleases, and to die in like manner when it shall be his will to deliver me from this wicked world; in which not knowing how long it is his pleasure that I remain, being afflicted with a disease occasioned by so many unaccustomed inconveniences or by your unmerited severity; yet I will pray you also (impelled to this by the zeal of my conscience) to permit me have a priest of the catholic church, of which I am a member, to console me and attend to my duties. Which requests being granted, I shall pray God, both in prison and in dying, to give to your heart what may be agreeable to him and wholesome for you; and if I am refused them, I charge

you to answer before God for my failure in the means of doing my duty, having duly implored and requested you, in whom lies the refusal or permission.

‘There remains still another request, of little importance to you, but of extreme consolation to me; it is that you will please, having compassion on a desolate mother, from whose arms has been torn her only child and hope of future joy in this world, to permit me to write at least open letters, to enquire into the real state of his welfare, and recall to him his sad mother; so that, receiving some comfort from his good behaviour, I may also remind him of his duty towards God and me, without which no human favour can profit him; for failing in one of these two so express commandments, God may make him forgetful of all the others. And if the above points are granted to me, I shall prepare myself at once to receive life or death, or whatsoever it may please God to send me at your hands; which having kissed, I shall conclude by praying God to give you, Madam, his holy grace in this world, and his glory in the other.

From my close prison of Sheffield, this 29th October.—

pp 225—227.

Writing to the French ambassador in the following month, she says:—

‘My people are not permitted to go beyond the gate of this castle, and all Lord Shrewsbury’s servants are prohibited from speaking to mine. The displeasure which this queen has expressed to you by Burghley, is followed in my instance by new severity and menaces. I am confined to my chamber, of which they wish again to wall up the windows, and make a false door by which they may enter when I am asleep; and my people will no longer be permitted to come there, except a few valets, and the rest of my servants will be removed from me. So she makes me to know that this cruelty will only terminate with my life, after causing me to languish unmercifully — p. 227.

Justice to Elizabeth and her advisers, requires it to be borne in mind that the Scottish queen was the recognised centre of the papal party at this time. Without a knowledge of this fact it will be impossible to understand what occurred. Though it affords no justification of her treatment, it explains the policy of Elizabeth, and relieves her measures, not, indeed, from the charge of injustice and cruelty, but from that of sheer folly and wanton despotism. The two parties were animated with the fiercest hatred towards each other, and the possible succession of Mary to the English throne was anticipated with dread by the one, and with all the eagerness of hope by the other. The English ministers partook of the former feeling, while Mary was aware of, and encouraged the latter, on the part of the catholics. ‘They have,’ she says, in January 1571, ‘no hope of recovery,

except from God and me.' And again in March, of the same year, 'the hope which the catholics have of seeing their religion restored, and themselves freed from captivity, is not founded upon other human aid, than from those who will advance my just claim of queen of Scotland, which I have to both these kingdoms.' The catholics were perpetually engaging in schemes on her behalf, which the vigilance and promptitude of the English government detected and punished. This state of things weighed heavily on the spirits of the captive queen, and is frequently referred to in terms similar to the following:—

'The undertakings that are discovered before they are matured, and that nevertheless could be well executed,—of their designers some are prisoners, others quit the country and lose their wealth, others their wealth and their lives. Which things keep me in such perplexity of mind, that I have many times wished that it would please God to take me from this world, esteeming that by this means the Catholics in not relying more upon me would have patience, and thus would content themselves as they best could, waiting for some other opportunity, through the goodness and mercy of God. And it was this consideration that induced me to resolve to treat with this Queen, although it were on exorbitant terms, and hard conditions, and fly from them in some sort as it were, sooner than see them miserably ruined and destroyed one after another.—p. 191.

The 'main scope and intention' of the catholics is affirmed to be 'the establishment of the catholic religion,' and the Duke of Norfolk is confidently spoken of as 'the leader of the enterprize.' The policy to be pursued was wanting in highmindedness and sincerity, as the following brief extract will show:—

'The said Duke of Norfolk being at all times loved, favoured, and followed by many of the noble Protestants, who, by chance, might draw back from him, if at first sight he directly indicated to them his wish to change the religion, the principal Catholics of this enterprise are to make it appear that he temporises, and thus unite with the said protestants to serve him in it, and to make him enter into the business under other pretences and views, for which now there are great opportunities; one, that many of the said Protestants are favourable to my title, part because the said duke is of that opinion, part because of the particular enmities and quarrels which they have with the Earls of Hertford and Huntingdon.—p. 193.

To this subject Mary often recurs in such terms as were perfectly natural in her position, but which must have rendered it extremely difficult for the English government to reconcile its own safety with her preservation. They had committed themselves to a course of injustice, and might plead in extenuation of their rigour the necessity laid upon them. Thus it has ever



been that wrong generates wrong. One false step calls for, and seems to justify another. But as in private, so in public life, enlightened expediency and sound justice are one. Errors and crimes had been committed in the early policy of the English court towards the Scottish queen, but the wisest and the right course would have been to admit the one, and to offer atonement for the other. Elizabeth, however, resolved to carry out and complete her injustice, and in doing so, she only acted in keeping with the ordinary maxims of state-craft.

During a considerable portion of the reign of Elizabeth, the English court was rent into various factions. The protestant and the catholic, the churchman and the puritan, the advocate of prerogative and the assertor of popular freedom, had each his representative, and it was sometimes difficult to say to which side the scale would incline. On the animosities and intrigues of these parties, the letters before us throw considerable light, though it is necessary, in their perusal, to bear in mind the position from which they were viewed, and the strong personal interests of the writer. Writing from Sheffield, August 4th, 1574, Mary says :—

‘ You know that there are three factions in this kingdom ; one of the Puritans, in favour of Huntingdon, who is privily supported by Leicester ; another of Burleigh, for Hertford ; and the third of the poor Catholics ; and of all these this queen is the enemy, and only considers Hatton, Walsingham, and several others, at all free from suspicion, expressing herself to them thus, that she would wish to return after her death, to see the murders, quarrels, and divisions in this country. ‘ For,’ says she, ‘ Leicester flatters Hertford, and stands for his own brother-in-law, and the others would like to be rid of me. But if the third comes (speaking of me), she will soon take off their heads.’ And therefore she has persuaded the said Hatton neither to purchase lands nor build houses, for, if she were dead, he could not live. Yet Leicester talks over Monsieur de La Mothe, to persuade me that he is wholly for me, and professes that afterwards he is to propose marriage to me, and endeavours to gain over Walsingham, my mortal enemy, to this effect. Burleigh writes very civilly of me, when he thinks it will come to my ears, protesting that he will not, like others, suffer anything to be said to him against me (he alludes to Leicester), as the nearest relative of the queen, and whom he desires to honour as far as I shall not offend his mistress. Notwithstanding Bedford, who is entirely Leicester’s, as he himself has caused me to be informed, solicits to have me, to persuade me to come to it. But recently they have charged him with the knowledge of a conspiracy against the life of Burleigh, of which he is acquitted. I do not know what will be the result, but they have little confidence in each other.’— 239—240.

Three years later, reference is made to the matrimonial de-

sign of the Earl of Leicester, and the court is represented as distracted by the feuds consequent thereon. The passage referring to these points is somewhat too extended for our limits, but it does not admit of abridgement, and its importance forbids omission. It is addressed to the Archbishop of Glasgow, Mary's most trusted adviser:—

‘The principal subject which I have now to write to you, is of Leicester's journey to the baths of Buxton, where he has been very honourably received by my host Shrewsbury. Many are thereby filled with great jealousy, suspicion and distrust. For my part, after having sounded, by all the best means that I could, his intention and chief motive for this journey, I have discovered that he has gone expressly there to ascertain the inclinations of the nobility in reference to the marriage which he designs to solemnize with this queen, which everyone considers to have been for a long time secretly contracted between them; and he himself even speaks of it in a manner a little more freely than perchance may be profitable to him. But besides that, knowing well with what difficulty I shall be induced to consent to it, and without I derive some great advantages from it, he has sent in all duty to assure me, by a third party, both of the good affection of this queen towards me and of his own, even for his own sake, in what affects my pretension to the crown of England. And, to please me on this point, he has received very ill the earl of Huntingdon, his brother-in-law, who went to see him, and would not permit him to remain with him beyond half-a-day. I need not write to you the endless other reports to this purpose which have come to my ear, from which, after all, I can learn nothing, except that the said Lord Leicester wishes to maintain and preserve her favour during this reign, and to have an eye to and secure himself for the future; wherein I have determined to give no more faith to his words than his behaviour, full of all dissimulation, allows me ground; and I pray you to inform Morgan, Liggons, and others, who may in this be alarmed and distrustful. My Lord Burleigh, on account of the jealousy which he has of this journey, was to have set out for one of his own residences, near this, with a determination of going to the baths, and, as I believe, of counteracting and destroying all that he dreaded the other, his mortal enemy, might have arranged to his disadvantage, principally as regards me. But he has been countermanded, and has not been able to obtain his leave. The Earl of Sussex has declared openly against the said Lord Leicester, so far as to threaten to take his life, by whatever means he can, if the queen will not permit them to fight. There are many in this kingdom with the same inclination; the factions and party-spirit being so great in it that never had foreign princes a finer opportunity for indemnifying themselves for the inconveniences which they receive from this quarter; which those of this country infinitely dread, especially if the peace is concluded in France, as they hold it certain in Flanders, suspecting that there has been a close understanding between the kings of

France and Spain, and that, if I am of the party, I can annoy them much, which makes them affect me more than usual, and labour so much to secure me.—pp. 254—256.

To those who are not able to procure the larger work of Prince Labanoff, Mr. Turnbull's volume will be highly acceptable, and we cordially recommend it to all our readers who are interested in the historical enquiries to which it pertains.

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Art. VII. *The Fourth Report of the Commissioners on the Fine Arts.*

THE Fourth Report of the Commissioners for conducting the ornaments in 'the New Palace of Westminster,' which by a novel stretch of sycophancy it seems is to be the vernacular among other things for the Houses of Lords and Commons, has made its appearance, and presents an object of considerable interest. In some views it may seem to be of small importance whether one specimen of humanity or another be represented in stone or marble by act of parliament in a certain niche. But the question is at all events of consequence, as handing down to posterity the measure of what were the notions of merit prevalent in Great Britain in the middle of the nineteenth century, modified (for that must not be overlooked) by the medium through which the decision has been made. As neither the members of the commission, nor the act of parliament which appointed them, resulted from universal suffrage, the 'universal British people' is not entitled to either the praise or blame which may be incurred by the final operation. But the statues when they appear, will, on the whole, be on this account only more interesting to the historian; and it is clear that they offer useful points of remark, while the decision is still to some extent incomplete.

In confirmation of interest being to be found about the subject, a curious question starts up at the threshold, or perhaps before it. Is it possible it should have been quietly slobbered over and passed *sub silentio*, that the house of lords and the house of commons shall be out-houses of 'the palace.' The House of Lords, like 'brother Neile,' may do as it chooses; but was there decency in ostentatiously turning the House of Commons, which has made and unmade kings, into an adjunct of a royal residence, the scullery, the servants' hall, or as the event may be? Was there any more propriety in doing this, than there would have been in inviting the queen to quarter in the lobby of the house of commons, and use the smoking-room on levee-days? Is the Speaker to be asked to dinner with the officers of the guard? for a guard-room is among the special appurtenances



named. If a member in the heat of argument should commit himself by a blow on another member's head instead of the table, is he to have his hand cut off with a cleaver by the queen's head-cook in his white apron, the hierarchy of royal scullions attending to do their several services towards the operation? And what fitness was there in having the outside of the Commons' house stuck over with effigies of individuals, for whom the nation has anything but respectful feelings,—individuals to expel and keep out whom, it expended its best blood, and placed and kept the existing dynasty upon the throne as the symbol of its victory? The unmanly pedant, the executed criminal, the brothel-king, the expelled tyrant, are all to insult the people in stone, while England's 'chief of men' is to have his existence stifled, so far as such rubbish can effect the suffocation. How should we laugh at the French, if they were to let any rulers try to persuade them that Napoleon never was sovereign; and call for a 'Three Days,' to put an end to the ridicule of the thing. Would it be of the nature of treason to wish, that popular power may at some time reach the point of applying the scraping-iron to the whole; or is not the treason rather in those who insult the existing tenant of the throne by this parading of the statues of our enemies? Why should a house of commons be larded with kings and queens at all? Suppose a future House of Commons should propose that the residence of the sovereign should present on its outside the burly figure of O'Connell, the economizing lineaments of Joseph Hume, and the expansive nostrils\* of Dr. Bowring? Would it be anything but very silly; and is the other a whit the less?

But to come to the selection proposed for the *inside*. A sub-committee presents two lists; one a schedule A, not of names to be disfranchised, but of names to which the committee agreed unanimously; the other, schedule B, of names on which the committee were not unanimous, but which were adopted by a majority. The first list contains sixty-three names, and the other fifty-eight. What proportion the number of indispensables bears to the possible niches in prospect, does not clearly appear, at least from such extracts as are before the public in the newspapers. Both lists are given in a note below†. Besides this, the commissioners present the decision of their united

\* The Beloved Ferdinand called him 'him of the *largas narices*.'

† The Fourth Report of the Commissioners on the Fine Arts has just been issued by the Parliamentary printer. It relates to the placing of statues in the 'New Palace of Westminster'—the Parliament Houses. The Commissioners report, that there are various situations already ascertained to be suitable to statues, others suitable to busts; but 'many situations for statues consist of niches only, which, in accordance with the style of Gothic architecture adopted, are uniformly narrow, not exceeding two feet

force, on the places to be awarded to certain of the statues named by their sub-committee.

in width; a size and form 'which seem to limit the choice of the Commissioners to characters drawn from the feudal age, and, as usual with effigies of that period, presenting little or no variety of attitude.' However, the Commissioners express the opinion,

.... "that six insulated marble statues might be conveniently placed in St. Stephen's Porch, and that sixteen such statues might be conveniently placed in St. Stephen's Hall. We are of opinion that it is not desirable that a corresponding number of eminent names be now pointed out with a view to the entire occupation of those places; but we are at once prepared to recommend that statues of Marlborough and Nelson be placed in St. Stephen's Porch; and that statues of Selden, Hampden, Lord Falkland, Lord Clarendon, Lord Somers, Sir Robert Walpole, Lord Chatham, Lord Mansfield, Burke, Fox, Pitt, and Grattan, be placed in St. Stephen's Hall.

"We have further to propose that the following three artists:—viz. William Calder Marshall, John Bell, and John Henry Foley, whose works in the last exhibition in Westminster Hall were considered by us to be entitled to especial commendation, be at once commissioned to prepare models for three of the aforesaid statues—viz. the statues of Hampden, Lord Falkland, and Lord Clarendon; and that the execution of such statues be allotted to the said artists respectively, as we may hereafter decide.

"We have further to propose that 2,000*l.* of public money be granted on account towards the payment of such works."

A Sub-Committee report the subjoined lists of names of 'distinguished' men to whose memory statues might be erected. The first list (A) consists of names to which the Committee agreed unanimously; the second (B) of names on which they were not unanimous, but which were adopted by a majority. At the same time, the Committee 'desire to express their unanimous opinion, that the attempt to execute any great number of these statues simultaneously, would not be conducive to the interests of art.'

A.)

Alfred	Sir William Wallace	Bacon
Elizabeth	Sir Philip Sidney	Napier
Robert Bruce	Duke of Marlborough	Newton
—	Lord Clive	Locke
Lord Burleigh	Lord Heathfield	Robert Boyle
John Hampden	—	—
Earl of Clarendon	Lord Howard of Effingham	Caxton
Lord Somers	Sir Francis Drake	Watt
Earl of Chatham	Admiral Blake	Herschel
Edmund Burke	Lord Rodney	Cavendish
C. J. Fox	Lord Howe	—
William Pitt	Lord Duncan	Inigo Jones
—	Lord St. Vincent	Sir Christopher Wren
Sir Thomas More	Lord Nelson	Hogarth
Sir Edward Coke	—	Sir Joshua Reynolds
John Selden	Sir Walter Raleigh	Flaxman
Sir Matthew Hale	Captain Cook	—
Earl of Mansfield	—	John Howard
Lord Erskine	Sir Th. Gresham	William Wilberforce
—	—	—
Venerable Bede	Chaucer	Harvey
Richard Hooker	Spencer	Jenner
—	Earl of Surrey	
	Shakspeare	
	Milton	
	Addison	
	Richardson	
	Dr. Johnson	
	Cowper	
	Sir Walter Scott	

The lists, on the whole, are in some respects better than might have been expected, and in others worse. They are better, inasmuch as they undeniably contain less of adulation to unpopular principles than by-gone tory administrators would have thought it their duty to produce. In so far as they are worse, the expectation held out for the possibility of debate, encourages the disposition to criticize for the chance to improve.

Alfred has a right to head the list, as a sovereign who did good when there was nothing to hinder him from doing evil. Elizabeth has a strong hold on popular feeling, as the resister of foreign domination; the same, in short, which Akbar

	(B.)	
Richard I. Cœur de Lion	John Wickliffe	Ben Jonson
Edward I.	John Knox	John Bunyan
Edward III.	Cranmer	Dryden
The Black Prince	Archbishop Usher	Pope
Henry V.	Archbishop Leighton	Swift
William III.	Jeremy Taylor	Goldsmith
George III.	Chillingworth	Burns
—	Barrow	Sir William Jones
Cardinal Langton	Bishop Butler	—
William of Wickham	John Wesley	Robertson
Cardinal Wolsey	—	Hume
Earl of Strafford	Sir John Talbot	—
Lord Falkland	Sir John Chandos	Fielding
Sir William Temple	Marquis of Montrose	—
Lord Russell	Cromwell	Roger Bacon
Sir Robert Walpole	Monk	Smeaton
Earl of Hardwicke	General Wolfe	Brindley
Earl Camden	Sir Eyre Coote	John Hunter
Grattan	Sir Ralph Abercromby	Adam Smith
Warren Hastings	Sir John Moore	Purcell
—	—	—
Speaker Onslow	Hawke	Garrick
—	—	—

March 6, 1845.—Revised March 14, 1845.

‘ Another Sub-Committee recommend, that eighteen niches in the House of Lords be filled with effigies of eighteen of the principal Barons who signed Magna Charta; namely—

Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury.	William, Earl of Aumerle
William, Bishop of London	Geoffrey, Earl of Gloucester
Almeric, Master of Knights Templars	Saher, Earl of Winchester
William, Earl of Salisbury	Henry, Earl of Hereford
William, Earl of Pembroke	Roger, Earl of Norfolk
Waryn, Earl of Warren	Robert, Earl of Oxford
William, Earl of Arundel	Robert Fitzwalter
Hubert de Burgh, Earl of Kent	Eustace de Vesci
Richard, Earl of Clare	William de Mowbray

‘ A memorandum by the Commissioners records their opinion that the entrance to the Houses of Parliament by the grand staircase, landing-place, guard-room, Victoria Gallery, and lobby to the House of Peers, should contain the statues of Sovereigns,—namely, Egbert, Edgar, Canute, and Edward the Confessor, and the whole series from William the Conqueror to Victoria. Queen Mary the wife of William III., and Prince Albert, are also to be included. The Victoria Hall to contain twelve statues; beginning with Henry VII., ending with Queen Anne, and including Mary.—*Spectator*, 18 Oct. 1845.



Khan has a right to have on the Affghans. Bruce is an offering to a similar feeling on the part of Scotland ; though at the expense of English pride. If it be deserving of a statue for everybody to resist everybody, would it not be better that everybody should let everybody alone? Lord Burleigh cannot shake his head in stone. The principle he represents, was already represented in fair proportion by Elizabeth. John Hampden is the most brilliant sacrifice in the lists, to the irresistibleness of common sense ; and when it is recollected that he fell in the act of doing battle against the tyrant, the pretence of making faces at the admission of the greater agent Cromwell, becomes more intensely ridiculous. Queen Victoria is neither Jacobite nor Cavalier ; she would not knight anybody the less, for seeing the leader by the side of his subordinate. Clarendon, the darling of Jacobite squires in the last age, has small pretensions to a statue now, for writing the history of a ' Great Rebellion,' in which Queen Victoria is in fact the great and successful ' rebel.' Lord Somers was a good Whig, and Clarendon was probably put in with a view to balancing him. Chatham, Burke, Fox, and Pitt, are intelligible representatives of principles, of which the existing race of men have seen the action. More, Coke, Selden, Sir Matthew Hale (of witches), Lord Mansfield, Lord Erskine, are the representatives of law. Bede and Hooker may be supposed to stand for ecclesiastical history and polity. Wallace, Sidney, Marlborough, Clive, and Heathfield, represent military men. The two last are objectionable. Clive never represented any principle but plunder, nor was revered by any but the shakers of the rupee-tree. Popular tradition to this day represents him as dying haunted by the ghosts of victims ; a bad preparation for a statue. Lord Heathfield scarcely attained to signpost notoriety. The Gibraltar line-of-battle ship carries, or did carry, his statue for her figure-head ; which is appropriate, and enough. The admirals make a greater show. Lord Howard of Effingham is viewed as the naval conductor of Elizabeth's resistance ; and Sir Francis Drake, though known for a great deal more than is good, among other things for an originator of the Guinea slave-trade, has always preserved a kind of equality in the memories of the time. Blake was Cromwell's sea arm ; and it ought not to be forgotten to typify on his statue, that for this his bones were exhumed by the ' hyæna royalists.' Rodney, Howe, Duncan, St. Vincent, and Nelson, follow that sort of technical necessity by which the leaders of the successful attacks at a siege must be mentioned in a despatch. Clerk of Eldin, who was the teacher of them all, and did for them what none of them would have done for themselves or for one another, has no place ; as is the custom of the world in like

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cases. A black line after these, 'brackets off' Raleigh and Cook by themselves; implying that they appear as colonizers or discoverers, rather than sea-warriors. Raleigh was a buccaneer with a literary turn\*. In point of magnitude in the public eye, or any other quality implying claim to a statue, it would be childish to compare him with William Penn; who appears in neither list. There are not fifty men and women in the country, who would know Raleigh's effigy if they saw it. There are scarcely the same number among the well-informed classes, who

\* By a coincidence purely accidental, the following passages appear in the 'League' newspaper of 18 Oct., in a review of an article *On the Value of the Potato, by a Munster Farmer*.—'Most persons have heard the legendary history which describes the introduction of the cultivation of the potato into Europe. It is said that Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom large grants of forfeited estates had been made in the south of Ireland, brought from South America the seeds of several new esculents, which he planted in his garden at Myrtle Grove; a seat which had been originally the residence of the master of the college established in Youghal soon after the Anglo-Norman conquest. There is abundant evidence to prove that Raleigh valued the lands which he obtained on the banks of the Blackwater, and particularly those near the town of Youghal, more than any of the other estates he received. Youghal harbour, possessing a safe and good anchorage, easily accessible from the Atlantic, and scarcely known by name to the nations of Europe, afforded a safe *dépôt* for the plunder which the buccaneers obtained from the Spaniards; and there is no doubt now that Raleigh's connexion with the buccaneers was continued long after he had entered the service of Elizabeth.

'Nothing is more remarkable in the history of the English buccaneers, many of whom were young men of good family, than the care which they took to destroy every scrap of paper or memorandum which could preserve the history of their proceedings. Sir Walter Scott describes Philip of Mortham, in the poem of Rokeby, as a desperate pirate in his early days, and a most rigid puritan in later years. Tradition narrates the same change in many of Raleigh's associates, who settled under his patronage on the banks of the Blackwater; they were most of them young adventurers from Devonshire and the vicinity of Bristol; and the shortness and comparative safety of the voyage from Youghal to Bristol was probably a strong recommendation of Raleigh's settlement. The ferocious practices ascribed to the Buccaneers in the American seas were not abandoned when they made Youghal their European *dépôt*: the legends of the peasantry point out several spots on the sea-coast where Spaniards were murdered and burned to prevent their telling tales of cruelty and robbery, or where a negro was slaughtered that his grisly ghost might defend a hidden treasure. . . .

'From the time of Elizabeth to the close of the war of the revolution, the valley of the Blackwater was the scene of obscure and petty warfare between the English settlers, brought over by Raleigh and the first Earl of Cork, and the native Irish. One result of these barbarous hostilities was the frequent burning of the uncut harvest; and the great advantage derived from the culture of the potato was that the crop could not be fired. The progress of the cultivation, however, was very slow and imperceptible; it may surprise many to learn that the esculent was long viewed with dislike by the native Irish, and that the use of it was deemed characteristic of the English settler.'

would not recognize Penn's ghost if it were to stand by their bed-side. Sir Thomas Gresham appears by himself, as the representative of civic intelligence. The poet's corner is an extensive one, though novelists and moralists are oddly intermixed. It is pleasant to see the claims of Cowper unhesitatingly recognized; a sign of improvement since the times when Cowley would have been preferred. The philosophers and mathematicians come next; and then a junta of the discoverers or introducers of printing, steam-engines, Georgium Sidus, and the composition of water. If the inventor of the spinning-jenny is distinctly known, he ought manifestly to have had a place. The next are architects, painters, and statuary. Philanthropists are represented by Howard and Wilberforce. The real originator of the abolition of the slave trade is contumaciously alive; but if he was not, it would probably make little difference, for there must in all cases be what the wits of Charles the Second's time irreverently termed a cock for the breed and a cock for the game,—one man who is to be the veritable author, and another who is to take the pleasure and the reward. Harvey and Jenner, as representatives of the healing art, wind up schedule A.

Schedule B introduces matter of debate and of comparison. First on the list is Richard Cœur de Lion. If he is there, there should also have been Robin Hood; who is undeniably the most popular and best known individual of the two. Of the other kings and of kingly race, none have any claims upon modern times, except William the Third; who, as the symbol of a change of government useful though not 'glorious,' has a right to a niche. The next compartment contains sundry men of inferior note, and some that ought not to have been there. Strafford was a bad man and wicked ruler, who in the end received 'the recompense in himself which was meet.' He was a sample of the kind of aristocrat, that ruthlessly ride over the lives and feelings of other men, and cant about their wives and children when they fall into the hands of a stronger than themselves. He would be well changed for Pym, —'famous fellow Pym.' Lord Russell should keep his place, for the chance of its being useful to his posterity. Sir Robert Walpole was a prime minister, and if anything else, a corrupt and bad one. Is he to be put there to remind honourable gentlemen at large, that 'every man has his price'? Warren Hastings ought never to have been proposed. He was a pro-consul whose claim to a statue consisted in having been formidably charged, and *not condemned*. A metropolis might be peopled with effigies of governors, if this was to be the recommendation to the honour. John Wickliffe ought clearly to have

been in schedule A ; it must have been the spirit of Puseyism that kept him out. If the Irish Catholics (but they are not so unreasonable) should take umbrage at it, there could be no objection to insert St. Patrick as a balance, provided always there is reason for assuming him to be a *bonâ fide* historical character. If he really was a missionary, bringing to a savage country the best religion that he or others were acquainted with, the Protestant of most decided hue, on this side the water at least, would not think of objecting to his exaltation. If he was of foreign birth, so was William the Third ; and if he stood on his brevet of saint, as a reason why he could not pair off with the 'gode preste' of Lutterworth, he must be told that heads must count, and the followers of the priest are at this moment more than the bishop's. John Knox has a similar claim for Scotland. Cranmer was but a weak vessel, after all. And he is reported to have burnt somebody, by way it might be supposed of anticipatory justification of what finally befell himself. The next are a train of theologians, of distinction no doubt in their line, but of no great popular mark till they come to John Wesley. The stirrer-up of the church calling itself of England, without whom it would have been by this time a stagnant pool, has a stronger claim on any real friends of the establishment which boasts itself the majority's, than a troop of writers of ponderous divinity, however orthodox by that rule of the strongest by which orthodoxy is defined. The next would appear to be a line of military men. A modern soldier does not recognize Sir John Talbot and Sir John Chandos without looking in the dictionary. They served somebody or other in a bad cause. One of them was moreover one of the Irish land-pirates, or to speak more correctly, land-pirates in Ireland. Montrose, an unprincipled and sanguinary knave, who began in the liberal party, left them on some pique about preferment, and then butchered them. Claverhouse's black horse is as well entitled to a statue. It is hard to say why England's 'chief of men' should be exposed between two such thieves as him and the 'rascal Monk.' Note also, that the proposal to insert Cromwell in this place, does not affect the question of his appearance among the sovereigns ; for kings are found in these lists, who are to appear again in the other place. General Wolfe,—a man of sign-posts ; and judging by that rule, either the Marquis of Granby or the 'butcher Cumberland' would overmatch him. He chanced to fall in his vocation ; in fighting for nobody at this time very well knows what. Sir Eyre Coote has a statue somewhere already ; which is enough for a mere Indian conqueror. Among poets, Ben Jonson has more claim than the Earl of Surrey, who is in schedule A. Nobody ever said,



‘O rare Earl of Surrey!’ The next name is one which only England could have produced, and of which it would be hard to make a foreigner comprehend the merit and the claims. The recognition of the inspired tinker, is sufficient to cover a multitude of sins. This is probably the only country in which biblical phraseology and biblical allusions carry with them a sense of the magnificent. In France, particularly, they are viewed as mean, and, for the most part, redolent of hypocrisy. The cause of the difference is clear. In England the religious spirit tamed the tyranny of the temporal ruler, and stood forth the founder of the country’s freedom. In France it was unsuccessful and defeated, so that men of the world avoided the appearance of its company; and hypocrites in some instances took it up as a mask. Dryden and Pope have surely either of them claims superior to Richardson. Sir William Jones was an amiable man, but considerably of a pretender. When men say ‘I am of Apollos,’ and ‘I of Cephas,’ does anybody say, ‘and I of Sir William Jones?’ Fielding is hardly of rank to necessitate a statue. And Adam Smith ought as assuredly to have been among the indispensables.

Two names will occur like that of Brutus, because the statue is not there;—Byron, and Bentham. And one extraordinary feature will be felt to be, the total omission of female names, with the single exception of the epicene Elizabeth. Why should not Mary Queen of Scots, for instance, have appeared? She has been the object of much sympathy; and bloody-minded old ladies, must be content when turned to stone, if they can keep their place themselves, without insisting on the exclusion of their rivals. Lady Jane Grey should have been there, as a tribute to female merit, and an expiatory offering for the national brutality which could chop off the head of a girl of seventeen like a calf’s, because her friends and relatives had thought she had a title to the throne. Where too is queen Philippa, who prevented a barbarian monarch from disgracing himself at Calais? Mrs. Hutchinson, might help to balance the propinquity of her hero James. Of living women, a number might be cited; but as they are excluded by being alive, it would be invidious to name. Mrs. Fry has just gone where it shall be said to her, ‘I was in prison and thou camest unto me.’ No better inscription could be wanted for a pedestal.

Of men too, numerous names might be added. Why was not Paley found among the divines or moralists? was his parable of the pigeons still held in memory against him? Franklin was English born; and it would be easy to stop at *Eripuit fulmen cælo*. Latimer preached what would have been good Anti-Corn-law sermons now; he should therefore appear, in honour

of the coming change. Massinger might have claimed a place among the poets; and Beaumont and Fletcher would have made a variety in the character of Siamese twins. Bradley the discoverer of the aberration of light, and Priestley, should have been among the natural philosophers. Sidney Smith the laughter-down of Catholic disabilities, would have exchanged with advantage against a more ponderous divine. Blackstone, though a concealed servile, might have superseded Hale, who was assuredly no witch. Canning, among statesmen, is an enormous omission. What were the claims of the eloquent incendiarism of Burke, compared with those of the author of the South American republics, and the foster-father of Reform? Why not also Earl Grey? Is it not enough for a man to be dead and gone?

One piece of special absurdity must be noticed. Two statues are fixed on by the collective wisdom of the whole Commission, for 'St. Stephen's Porch;' which, if there be meaning in words, is to make them the janitors of the House of Commons. And the statues determined on are,—'Marlborough and Nelson.' Would not Gog and Magog have done as well? No objection was made to his appearance in the ranks of his profession; but if he is to be thrust down the throats of the House of Commons and posterity in a more select capacity, it is time to protest against the truce-breaker and murderer of Castel d'Ovo being chosen for such a situation. The country has been disgraced enough already, without posting it again in hewn stone. If he appears, let his female accomplice be there as an help meet for him; and Caraccioli and his fellow-sufferers be represented as in the act of saying 'Are ye also become like unto us?' The idea of filling one compartment with the Barons who signed Magna Charta, was a happy one. Mr. O'Connell complains that an Archbishop of Dublin is omitted; and if the omission is unexplained, it is an instance of the mischief that can be done by little men. An Archbishop of Dublin ought in reason to have taken place of a Bishop of London.

On the whole, few better opportunities have occurred for useful discussions through the press. If any that appear are found to agree with what is here, they may be considered as confirming each other so far as they go; inasmuch as no previous communication has been had.

Art. VIII. *The Three Conferences held by the opponents of the Maynooth College Endowment Bill, in London and Dublin, during the months of May and June, 1845. Containing a vindication of the Author from the Aspersions of the Dissenting Press.* By John Blackburn, Minister of Claremont Chapel, Pentonville, London; pp. 95. Jackson and Walford.

THE design of this pamphlet is not to present a record of the conferences mentioned, the gentlemen that composed them, the resolutions passed at them, the state of their funds, and the effect of their labours, but to fulfil a promise, made some time ago by the Author, to vindicate his own conduct, and to throw some light on the conduct of others. Three courses, as Sir. R. Peel might say, are open to us, in reference to it. First, we might decline noticing it at all, but it is probable that silence would be interpreted as a sign of disrespect. Secondly, we might make a thorough examination of its statements and its reasonings, but such an examination is not demanded by the occasion, and it would fill the whole of an Eclectic. So we have resolved on the third possible course, and shall content ourselves with making two or three general remarks upon it, as a sort of introduction to some observations on a subject we have promised to notice this month, viz. the electoral policy of dissenters.

We do not think that Mr. Blackburn has acted wisely in publishing at all, and especially in publishing the present mingled defence and attack. There is not sufficient, in the shape of admissions, or new information, or argument, to prove a necessity for sending forth nearly a hundred pages of closely printed matter, and the tone observed is not such as we imagine Mr. Blackburn himself will approve, after the excitement under which he has evidently written, has passed away. There can be no doubt that he has been the subject of much remark, and much severe remark, and it is easily conceivable that his temper should have been ruffled by some of the animadversions occasioned by his conduct. At the same time, he does not seem sufficiently to consider the circumstances under which he became obnoxious to censure. That he has a perfect right to hold and to utter any opinions that may commend themselves to his mind, we should be the last persons to deny; but in his conduct as a leader of the anti-Maynooth agitation he acted as a public man, and as a public man, the public had an equal right to criticise his deeds and words. Moreover, in appearing before the Dublin conference, not only as a nonconformist, but, as one of the secretaries of the Congregational Union, and the editor of the Congregational Magazine, his speeches could not



fail to be taken by the audiences he addressed, as possessing a large degree of representative worth, and it was therefore perfectly natural for such as did not sympathise with those speeches, and did not believe that worth to belong to them, to feel aggrieved, and to express their grievance. Mr. Blackburn is exceedingly annoyed at having been misrepresented; let him not forget that those whose comments vexed him, were aroused by the feeling that he had misrepresented them.

So far as this pamphlet is a vindication of Mr. Blackburn, it fails to satisfy our minds. Not deriving more joy from our being right, than sorrow from his being wrong, having no consciousness of that bitter dislike to him which he imagines us to possess, we regret this result. Whatever light may be thrown by Mr. Blackburn's explanations on particular statements, however, in some instances he has rescued these statements from the condemnation with which they met on their first appearance, he has not removed the main substance of the charge, *that, considering the circumstances in which he placed himself, the office he undertook to discharge, and the hearers before whom he spoke, he committed himself as a professor of the voluntary principle, and an opponent of all state churches.* We have carefully pondered all that he has advanced in his own defence, and without becoming sponsors for the sayings of others, and without entering into the minute specification which would occupy far more space than we can afford, we must say that some of Mr. Blackburn's statements in Dublin appear to us questionable, that others appear extremely unwise, and that we are utterly at a loss to conceive how *the impression of the whole*, from what was said and from what was *not* said, upon the particular audiences he addressed, should not have been exceedingly different from that which we think might have been, and should have been, made. With this expression of our judgment, we gladly leave this part of the subject.

Mr. Blackburn, not content with vindicating himself, has been at great pains to assail others. He boldly carries the war into the enemy's camp. The Anti-State-Church Association is the object of his peculiar dislike and dread. He is not to be pleased with it, or with those who belong to it. Connexion, with that body, in its simplest shape, creates suspicion. To belong to its council is very ominous. To be a member of its executive committee is a serious evil. But to be an officer seems a sufficient evidence of folly or of malice. There is nothing beyond that. Any conduct is accounted for by such an explanation. No further argument is needed. It is equal to the ancient saying, 'Thou art a Samaritan!' Nothing can avail those who are found in such an unfortunate predicament. They are in as

miserable a plight as the old man with the ass—ride it or carry it, the result was one, a brute in one case, a fool in the other. If we theorise, we are reminded that Englishmen are eminently *practical*; if we set ourselves to work in earnest, our ‘strength is to sit still.’ We shall not debate the question of the Anti-State-Church Association, with Mr. Blackburn. Our opinions, and reasons, are before the public, and, to tell the truth, we have small hope of his conversion. Endowed with various solid qualities of intellect and heart; honoured and esteemed by all who know him; capable of rendering, as he has rendered, substantial service to the cause of religion and nonconformity, he is yet but little likely to sympathise with such a movement as the one in question. His tendencies are historical. There are few men among dissenters who have a greater deference for authority. He is fond of extracts. He loves to think between inverted commas. Well versed in the history of nonconformity, he makes much account of the opinions and practices of our ‘fathers.’ Assert some sentiment, and it is compared with the faith of our puritan ancestors. Deny some position, and Howe and Owen are invoked to prove that it is sound. All the names of the leading men among dissenters, in former ages, are at his finger’s ends, and they are constantly appealed to as approving what is right, and rebuking what is wrong. Of this temper of mind, several indications are to be found in the pages before us. Possessing it, Mr. Blackburn’s separation from the organisation in question, never occasioned our surprise. But we were certainly surprised to find him contemplating it with the alarm and indignation which his pamphlet shews, and assailing its members with accusations that we believe them to be as incapable of meriting as himself. Among other things of a like nature, Mr. Blackburn declares, falling into an error, which is common, and belongs of right, to weaker minds, that he is the object of a bitter and systematic persecution.

‘It is,’ observes Mr. Blackburn, ‘also necessary to inform the reader, that when that Association was organised, I felt it my duty to decline connexion with it, and when the first Anti-State-Church Conference was in session, I inserted in the *Congregational Magazine* a calm and well-considered article upon it. Hence I have been viewed with suspicion, not to say dislike, and my brethren of ‘the press have clearly ‘watched for my halting.’ Some members of the council’ resident in Dublin, knew the position I had taken, and doubtless reckoned on the eagerness with which their brother councillors of the *Patriot* would receive and publish anything to damage me in the eyes of the religious public.’—pp. 45, 46.

‘The preceding extracts make it plain that the editors of the *Patriot*, *Nonconformist*, and *Eclectic Review*, Messrs. Conder, Hare, Miall, and

Price, have chiefly resented the declarations of the English deputies in Dublin, respecting the conference at Crosby Hall. As that convention was got up by the Anti-State-Church Association party, of which those gentlemen are the official leaders, some allowance must be made for their almost paternal jealousy of its character. At the same time it is plain to me that they permitted their personal prejudices and an old grudge, to hurry them on to a fierce attack, being only too happy to find an occasion when they might assail my conduct and opinions, and by the united efforts of themselves and their allies, succeed to put me down.'—p. 62.

Had we not been mentioned in this passage, we should have left the matter entirely to others. As it is, we shall only say, that we are not aware of having been actuated by any such feelings or desires as Mr. Blackburn has imputed to us. Whatever effect was produced on our minds by the perusal of his comments on the Anti-State-Church Conference, it certainly was far removed from anger or a desire to be revenged. It grieves us to say that the spirit of the passages we have quoted is the spirit of all the references made in these pages to the same parties and the same movement, especially as the writer of them, by obvious implication, ranks himself with those on whom devolves the task of cherishing the remains of dissenting honour, courtesy, and truth.

On one point Mr. Blackburn acknowledges to having spoken without book :—

'What I said on the course dissenters will take at the next election was unguarded ; and on reflection, I confess that I ought not to have spoken on such a topic without much qualification. The purposes I uttered are my own, and those of many dissenters I know ; but still it is plain, from subsequent events, that no one can tell what course the great nonconformist body may take, and therefore it would have been wiser and safer not to have spoken upon that subject at all.'—p. 61.

No doubt it would, and this is one of the very things which were sure to convey a most erroneous impression of our views to the persons who heard them—persons, for the most part, utterly unacquainted with our political and ecclesiastical sentiments. But if Mr. Blackburn is not sure what 'the great Nonconformist body' will do at the next election, he is quite sure that if they attempt anything good, there will not be wanting marplots to interfere for mischief. Wherever the carcase is, thither will the eagles be gathered together.

'Now, if there really exist an honest, hearty desire to prevent such an act of national apostacy, (the endowment of the Irish catholic priesthood) 'this, I take it, is the course to be pursued ; and the protestant dissenters of the empire have to make up their minds to



united and steady action, with their protestant brethren of other evangelical denominations. From the preceding narrative, however, it is too plain that such combined and decided proceedings will be greatly endangered by the theorists, the chartists, and the journalists amongst us, who by their unscrupulous conduct have proved that they are likely not to be very nice as to future measures, if thereby they can propound their fine-spun theories, increase the popular discontent, or gratify the vanity or spleen of their little minds.'—pp. 86, 87.

But there is reason to hope, notwithstanding these attempts at mischief, that the prevalence of good sense and right feeling will prevent any serious consequences.

'Should another crisis then come, and the necessity of cordial protestant co-operation appear, I have a strong conviction that these gentlemen will not be permitted, by their meddling intrigues, a second time to work mischief. Some of them aspire to senatorial honours. Before another struggle comes on, they may have attained the object of their ambition, and be occupied in the exposition of their theories and the display of their manners in parliament; or what—if we may prognosticate from the late Southwark election—is still more probable, they may sink to their own level, and no longer possess the means of impeding the usefulness and damaging the good names of those who differ from them.'—p. 94.

Such are the terms in which Mr. Blackburn thinks it right to describe the dissenting party, from whose ecclesiastical movements he keeps himself aloof. We must say, that we have read them with great pain—not on our own account, but the writer's. Mr. Blackburn is evidently very angry; he deems that he 'does well' to be so; and any expressions of contempt and indignation appear to him justified by the occasion. We can only account for it by the absorbing influence of one idea—popery. Sympathizing with him entirely in his disapproval of that system, and ready to concede that it affords sufficient grounds of serious apprehension, we would yet suggest to him, that fear is a bad counsellor; that those whose conduct he disallows have as strong an abhorrence of popery as himself; and that he wrongs himself in cherishing such harsh and unjust judgments of the aims and motives of his brethren. He mistakes the men. Looking at them from a distance, and through the coloured medium of prejudice, he sees neither them nor their actions as they are. We can assure him, that a nearer view, and a more cordial intercourse, would disabuse his mind. He would discover that the objects of his indignation are, after all, human beings, possessing the same affections as himself, and having at heart, though they may differ as to modes, the same great objects of Christian zeal. And we would suggest to him, that

he is bound to get his mind disabused in this or in some other way. The opinions he expresses respecting his opponents are so utterly out of the way, they so manifestly outrage all that is reasonable, to say nothing of what is right, that respect for himself alone should induce him to use proper means of obtaining a correcter estimate of those whom he still deems Christian, though erring, brethren.

Mr. Blackburn's pamphlet sufficiently discloses his own intentions, and it may be, those of some others. He disapproves of pushing the anti-state question, but he has a strong feeling (we have met with men in our time who would call such a feeling 'violent') in relation to the endowment of Roman catholicism, so strong that he would support a conservative candidate who was against it, rather than a liberal candidate who was for it. We differ from Mr. Blackburn in this—that, while we indignantly protest against the endowment of popery, we do so as against a form and a fruit of a bad system, and think that, therefore, our efforts to prevent the former should, in all fairness and consistency, be connected with efforts to destroy the latter. We do not say, but that in some particular case we might do as Mr. Blackburn purposes to do, though not altogether from Mr. Blackburn's motives, but we think it a far 'more excellent way' to adopt vigorous measures to render such a predicament as he supposes impossible. The principle of the late Southwark election is our own—that dissenters should make a resolute effort to obtain a distinct recognition of the injustice and injuriousness of state-churchism on the part of candidates for seats in parliament.

We take it for granted, that the cessation of all state support of religious opinions is a matter of immense, of incalculable importance. With those who do not deem it desirable at all, and with those who, deeming it desirable, do not deem it urgent, we have no present controversy. The truth and worth of the great dissenting principle are presumed to be admitted, while the propriety of pursuing a particular method of securing its practical application is debated. We do not stop, therefore, to prove or to praise that principle, but assuming it worthy of all honour, ask whether dissenters should honour it by demanding honour for it from those who wish to represent them in parliament? In other words, ought the men who represent dissenters to be required to represent their dissent?

At first sight, it seems to us very *reasonable* that this requirement should be made. Adhesion to the voluntary principle is widely different from adhesion to many other principles, as a test of fitness for legislative functions. For, what is it? Simply an acknowledgment of what dissenters consider the true

province of government on the greatest of all subjects. He who does not allow that the civil power has no business to meddle with religion, is, in their view, ignorant of the real end for which the civil power exists, and for them to send such an one to stand and act for them in the great council of the nation, is to send one who does not know *what he ought, and what he ought not, to do there*. Nor is this all. In insisting on a candidate's disapproval of state interference with religion, dissenters act a part of *thorough fairness and impartiality towards all classes of the social body*. In so doing, they claim no superiority, and seek no peculiar privilege. They do only what they would have done unto them. They merely ask to be let alone, and all other persons to be let alone likewise. They require only that he whom they empower to use a portion of their property shall not abuse his power; that he whom they select to maintain their rights shall not most grossly violate them. Surely they may do this, and yet boldly face their fellows. No demand can be more manifestly equitable than the demand to be treated as there is a willingness and determination to treat others, and none can complain if dissenters use their legal power in giving force to this demand.

These remarks would apply at all times, and vindicate, on broad grounds, any action by which the universal application of the voluntary principle might be sought. But at the present time there are reasons of great power for a united and determined movement against the principle of church-establishments. Such a movement is required by the necessity, not merely of undoing something that is now, but of preventing something the danger of which is imminent. The state-church principle is not stationary. They who would urge it on us as a crime that we resist it, are themselves fully prepared to invigorate and extend it. The last few years have witnessed a considerable activity in this direction, and the circumstances of the times promise a yet greater. 'The Maynooth grant,' say some, 'is past; why dwell on it?' And is the fact of an evil being fixed and settled a reason for quietness and resignation? We always thought that it was just the other way. Why, the corn-law is settled, and the income-tax is settled, and a thousand other bad laws are settled, but who ever hears their settlement pleaded by those who object to them as a reason for not discussing them, and seeking their removal? But if the Maynooth grant is settled, the policy of which it is a part is not exhausted. The *principle* of that measure will demand other measures of the like kind, and the *motives* that originated it will be equally strong to originate them. We do not hesitate to say, that if the endowment of Maynooth was right, much more will be right. As far as both



justice and expediency are concerned, we can draw no line. The arguments that justify the recent measure will justify the prospective measure, and they who deem the making of priests by the state proper, can hardly consider the maintaining of them wrong. But inferences are not necessary. The leaders of both the great political parties are church-establishment men, and perfectly willing, if allowed, to establish the Irish catholic church. Every year, of late, has revealed, in ways that cannot be mistaken, not only their preparedness, but their determination, to act out their theory, and nothing but the opposition of dissenters will prevent its being acted out. Had churchmen been satisfied, had they attained the object of their desires, the case would be different, but they are ripe for more mischief, they are set upon strengthening their stakes and lengthening their cords, and in circumstances to render exertions on our part against the whole system more manifestly necessary than such exertions have appeared for centuries. Indeed, it is difficult to convey our impression of the solemn importance attaching to the present season. There is nothing between us and the entire endowment of the Irish catholic church but the prime minister's view of the English public opinion. The leading spokesmen in the ministry and in the opposition have given sufficient intimation of their feeling, that such a measure is not objectionable in itself, and that on many accounts it is highly desirable. Here, then, is the prospect of a new state-church, one to meet the wants and wishes of six or seven millions of people. If vigorous agitation against a course of public policy can be justified at all, it surely can be justified when that policy is being applied in a new direction and on a larger scale. Would free-traders not esteem a new law increasing the amount of protection, and comprehending articles at present free, a just and powerful argument for more energetic efforts to promote their doctrines? And let it be considered further, that the endowment of popery would not only involve the creation of a new state-church, but would *give strength and stability to the existing establishment*. On this very ground it is defended and urged. The purpose is openly avowed. 'This is,' says the *Quarterly Review*, 'to the Roman and the protestant church a common cause.' The peril of the Irish protestant establishment is the peril of the English protestant establishment, and the preservation of the one must be secured for the sake of the other. 'Buy off Roman opposition,' it is said, 'by paying Roman priests.' It is the good old way. Reason suggests it, experience enforces it. Convert grumblers into participators; prevent a split by dividing the profits; stop the bark by throwing a sop.' And he must be very ignorant of general history, and very forgetful of recent

events, who supposes that this plan would not succeed. The Irish catholics *would* receive the bribe, and the separation of church and state would be put back an indefinite period. We say, then, that 'the time is come' for dissenters to do 'whatever their hands find to do' in pressing their principles to a full adoption. If they speak not now, they may almost be told ever after to hold their peace.

Looking at the position of the question in this light, with what face can politicians rebuke us for taking up our own cause? Really, they must be supernaturally simple, or suppose us to be so. Their advice to us can only be explained by folly or knavery, for it is advice which, if taken, would just bind our fetters more tightly to our limbs, and make us help to bind them too. It would be like nothing more than slapping a man's face with his own hands. To prevent this grievous and ignominious treatment, but one course appears to us available—to *set up for ourselves*. Nothing else will tell upon parliament. Our representatives care nothing for petitions. The utter unavailableness of the people's prayers has been sufficiently displayed. Words go for nought; deeds alone will tell. Yea, it is even thought well for those who represent us to plead that opposition to their proceedings *comes only from dissenters*. Such a source is regarded as sufficient to render the opposition unworthy of attention. Perhaps it is regarded so aright. But why? Simply because dissenters have been easy, quiet, inconsistent. They have been so often loud in their bark, and harmless in their bite, that they are not heeded. The only way to get attention paid to them is to show what they can do. There are few men in St. Stephen's that cannot understand votes, and do not respect them. Even petitions derive their power from the probability of their being remembered on the day of election. And if petitions are pretty sure not to be remembered then, they may be couched in any terms, and multiplied to any extent, without producing the smallest impression. But if petitions fail, from whatever cause, the wise expedient is plain, *send men to parliament who will hear them*.

'But,' says some timid voluntary, 'how can we do that? It is easier to talk of sending them, than to do it. Look at Southwark.' In answer to this, it is surely enough to say, that the question is not, what can be done just now, but what may be done hereafter by virtue of a vigorous and well-sustained action; and that none are more certain to effect nothing than those who attempt nothing. 'The never get school' has been well described as the most contemptible of all schools. If dissenters imagined that they could obtain three hundred advocates of the voluntary principle among the members returned at

the next general election, they would be worthy of even more contempt than that with which they are regarded by Whigs and Whig-Radicals. Such a thought never entered the mind of the most absurd and sanguine. But every thing must have a beginning. Rome was not built in a day. The earth took countless generations to be prepared for man's occupancy. Christianity was, at its commencement, as a mustard seed.

There is vast importance in the getting our principles fairly and powerfully represented in the House of Commons at all. 'You cannot elect a principle,' says the *Spectator*, with its usual cunning. But you can elect a man who has a principle, a man who believes it, and loves it, and will 'so speak' that members shall hear, and newspapers shall report, his speeches. And the immediate necessity of our cause is a few such men. True, there are some who understand voluntaryism in Parliament, but there are more who say they do and do not, while there are more still who understand it better than they represent it. Some members of the Anti-State-Church Association voted for the Maynooth Endowment Bill! When we deduct all who cannot speak with effect upon the House, and all who do not speak at all upon this question, all who 'imprison the truth in unrighteousness,' and all who let it go free only in such a garb as causes it to be laughed at, we are bold to say, that there is no principle in so miserable a plight in the Commons' House of Parliament, as the principle of which we are speaking. We do not want men there who require to be labelled with 'I represent voluntaryism,' but we want men who can give it out in all its strength of evidence, and comprehensive applications. A few men of this kind would do immense service for some time to come. They would educate the House and the country to a considerable extent, and education is the great want just now. Six 'good men and true' would do *this* work as well as sixty.

But this is only one view of the matter. Who can tell how many members might be returned to represent voluntaryism, if dissenters were thoroughly alive upon the subject. There may be but few places in which they possess a majority of the votes, but there are many places where they possess a sufficient number to turn the scale in the case of a disputed election, and many more where they have a great electoral importance. Let it be known that no dissenting votes will be given to any man who maintains the doctrine of civil support of religious opinions, and the result will be *a wonderful difference in the views of candidates for dissenting suffrages*. Candidates are, after all, saving their presence, like other articles of necessary use, like corn, and meat, and such things. *The demand regulates the supply*. If voluntaryism were found to be an essential qualification for a seat,



voluntaryism would soon be seen to be a very proper thing. And this appears a more reasonable expectation from the fact, that voluntaryism is in alliance with all liberal sentiments. There may be zeal for freedom in other things without zeal for freedom in religion, but it is not likely that many men will be found who are intelligently and earnestly for free churches, who are not also for free trade, and free politics.

A great deal depends on dissenters *being prepared for action when the time for action arrives*. If any thing be to be done in the way of elections, it must not be deferred until vacancies occur. Candidates become pledged to electors, and electors become pledged to candidates, and the evil of having to go to work without plans, without funds, and without the preparation of the public mind, becomes apparent when it is too late to rectify it. All that have had to do with elections know the disadvantage of being taken unawares. The soldiers have to be drilled after the call to battle has been sounded, the season of harvest arrives before the seed has been sown. It is very well to talk of public principle, its claims, and force, but principle in its best state is still embodied; it exists in connexion with many interests and affections. He who, scornfully despising the innocent alliances of principle, should seek to work out any great purpose without employing the common measures dictated by prudence, may have a high estimate of truth, but he has also little knowledge of humanity. We have not to do with the abstract elements of right, nor with right in perfect natures, but with right in men, men who are constantly associating with their fellow men, who are moved by a thousand considerations that have little relation to conscience, and in whom even right itself is never found but in a comparative state of strength and purity. We would strongly counsel the formation, in every place where it is practicable, of electoral clubs, after the manner which has been recommended in the *Nonconformist*. Let the decided and earnest dissenters meet, form their organisations, arrange their plans, commence subscriptions, canvass electors, and thus be in a condition to take advantage of any opening that may occur. But what is to be done, should be done quickly. There is no time to be lost. Every day is of importance. The effects of dilatoriness may be felt through many years.

One great objection to this course will be urged in the danger of dividing the 'liberal interest,' as it is called. For ourselves, we have very little concern about this, according to its common meaning, and should never let the fear of it interfere with any measures that might commend themselves to our minds as fitting to work out the ultimate object. In taking a decided course, we are the last persons to be charged with dividing the liberal

interest. They who will persist in pursuing a policy alien to our wishes and our convictions are fairly chargeable with this result, if it take place. The Russell party had warning enough that in supporting the Maynooth Endowment Bill, they were acting in diametrical opposition to our most warmly cherished principles. *They carried the obnoxious measure.* And now, when we are beginning to talk of giving place and force to our professions, we are to be met with the cry, that we divide the liberal interest! With just as good a face might the giver of a challenge throw the responsibility of the duel on him who accepted it. Nor, apart from this reference to the past, are we much disturbed by the threatened danger. Is this plea for inaction ever to have weight? If it be good as against dissenters, it is equally good as against others. It would be as valid a reason for not making any other principle an election test as for not making the voluntary principle one. It would shut out, in its turn, every doctrine that makes the 'liberal interest' a thing of any importance, or any thing at all. Liberalism, like every whole, is made up of parts, and if the parts are to be severally resigned, what means contention for the whole? And what after all is the essence of liberalism, which is to be secured in every way, and at all costs? Where is the line that divides the liberal party from the anti-liberal so distinctly that nothing must justify its being crossed? We know of nothing, in this vague thing, so important that the assertion of a real and momentous truth should be quietly laid aside for the sake of it. Liberal principles are very different things from the 'liberal interest,' and we have a shrewd suspicion that one of the best things for the former would be the annihilation of the latter, *as it exists at present.* The doctrine of voluntaryism, we take it, is just one of the things that will ultimately effect this end. Toryism and liberalism, as heretofore known, have kissed each other, and a new power must rise up which will say to the old pretenders to popular favour, 'Get you gone, and give place to honester men.' He must be slow to interpret the course and tendency of public events, who does not see that one of the elements of that new power will be the conviction that states are never so irreligious as when they meddle with religion. These are our general sentiments on the division of the 'liberal interest,' in the current signification of that term. The best way to build up a healthful and honest liberal party is not to sacrifice principles but to maintain them; the present form of liberalism wants blood and purification, and it would be a miserable thing to retain it in its present condition of infirmity and corruption in order to avoid the inconvenience of disturbing, and paining it. The case is one of imminent danger. The only

chance of preserving life is in the use of extreme measures. Nothing short of them will meet the exigency ; and if they fail, they will do no harm. But we trust they will not fail. We have hope in the progress of public opinion. And in proportion to our faith that right reason will ultimately prevail, is our conviction that patriots must look at the future, and not at the present ; seek to create public opinion and not conform to it ; and throwing aside all consideration of what this or that man will do, or what will be done unto him, ' follow ' the plain dictates of an enlightened conscience with all the energy and perseverance of a courageous heart.

There are one or two topics on which we would make a few remarks before leaving the subject, on which, we take it, dissenters will have to re-consider their opinions. The first was mooted at the Southwark election, and alluded to in our last number, viz. *the religious principles of members of parliament*. Mr. Miall incurred not a little odium by hinting at the supposed infidelity of one of his opponents. It was 'cant,' 'a wicked and dastardly attack,' and so on. We have reason to believe that many were disposed to condemn the reference, who have never given the general question a careful consideration. In Mr. Miall's case the allusion was provoked by a contemptible sneer, but we would look at the matter with a broader application. None of our readers, we presume, will suspect us of a desire to check the fullest liberty of religious opinions, though it is the fashion in some quarters to condemn voluntaries as if they were the most outrageous bigots, probably on the old established and well recommended plan of beginning to scold those from whom a scolding is expected. We are not of the number of those who think it immaterial what religious views men may hold, and account the opinion to be as unphilosophical as it is unscriptural, but we maintain, without qualification and reserve, the right of every man, so far as his fellow men are concerned, to cherish and to express whatever sentiments may be approved by his own mind. But when a man asks to be put into a peculiar position, when he asks to be invested with power and influence, then a new element is introduced into the case, and he has introduced it. He submits his pretensions to our view and decision. If, in the exercise of our reason we deem him incompetent to fill the desired position, he cannot complain of persecution if we decline helping him into it. The gift of a vote is a free gift. No man has a right to it. No man can plead authority to exact it. And if a candidate be judged unqualified to sustain the office of representing our principles and interests, whether the judgment be wise or simple, the cry of persecution is preposterous. Persecution is out of the question. Persecution



supposes the withholding of a man's right. But no man can plead a right to be made a member of parliament. If electors think a man unfit to represent them, they may reject him. It is only as constituting unfitness that we would make infidelity important in a candidate. We would put it in the same category as other things, and deal with it in the same way. We would prefer a believer in christianity, not to punish an unbeliever, any more than we would prefer a wise man to punish a fool. We would prefer him just because he is better qualified *to do the work*. To talk big about the infidel's right to hold his own opinions is not to the purpose. A man has a right to be an idiot, but we should not therefore give him our vote. To assert that opinions are not within the sphere of volition, that we possess no more controul over our creed than over the colour of our skin, or the height of our stature, were it true, would be irrelevant to the occasion. A man may not be able to help being dull or dumb, but that is no reason for sending him to the House of Commons. The question, we repeat, is one of fitness, and of fitness only. We do not think that a disbeliever of the gospel can be said to possess the highest kind of fitness to fulfil the functions of a representative of our distinctive principles. That highest kind of fitness involves the possession of moral influence in its purest form; of perfect sympathy with our cause in its deepest basis and broadest relations; and of the utmost measure of fidelity, zeal, and courage. The Anti-State-Church question is eminently a religious question. It has, of course, other and important bearings, but its religious bearings are by much the gravest and the greatest. It affects the interests of the state, but it affects far more the interests of the church. When the heavenly kingdom becomes connected with earthly kingdoms, both suffer, but the chief mischiefs fall upon the spiritual system. We cannot consider a man who holds that spiritual system to be the crazy dream of weak, or the cunning device of crafty, men, the best qualified to vindicate 'the present truth.' Its mightiest claims can have no hold upon his mind. He is under strong temptations, whatever may be his theory and his profession, to neglect, if not to despise it. He cannot feel concerned for the purity of the ministry, the freedom of the gospel, the independence of the church. Is he the one to meet the scorn and contempt of boon companions in vindicating the spirituality of religion? Is he the one to maintain the power of love and conscience to do God's work, apart from civil exactions? Is he the one to reply to the honest pleas of earnest defenders of state-churches? Is he the one to throw his whole soul into our service as having an intimate connexion with the honour of God, and the welfare of souls? We trow not—and

should not choose such a man, unless another were not to be had.

It is impossible too strongly to warn even dissenters against the widely-prevailing prejudice in favour of candidates who possess rank or riches. If there is any idolatry peculiarly characteristic of Great Britain in the present day, it is the idolatry of the golden calf. Property is the best introduction, the best argument, the best appeal. It will cover any pretensions, or want of pretensions. As money represents all kinds of property, so property represents all kinds of excellence. This honour for wealth goes along with a vehement love of rank. Men the most radical will prefer the member of the aristocracy to the most qualified man from among themselves. Even districts dependent on manufacturing interests will select for the guardians of their trade and commerce men who know nothing of, for they have never studied, the laws by which their well-being is secured. The fundamental error has been the looking on representatives as for ornament, not for use. They confer a favour on constituencies, instead of being favoured by them. They buy their seats, virtually, and at a great price; and may they not do what they like with their own? It will have to be seen and felt that the office of a legislator is a laborious office, if properly filled; and that, instead of being a light and graceful addition to a title or a fortune, it requires the strenuous application of a man's soul and strength. It is useless to expect this from men, whose education, and habits, and tastes, are aristocratic. Nor are such men, generally speaking, the most likely to take a deep interest in that neglected class, the people. If the people would be fairly represented, they must be represented by members chosen from among themselves. So far from high birth and large property being recommendations, they are, in some serious respects, disadvantages. Their *tendency*, we do not say their constant effect, is to separate their possessors from the mass of the community—to unfit them to perceive, and to care about, what is good for the main body of the nation. Let dissenters present a better example, and promote a better spirit on this subject. Let them select candidates for what they are, not what they have; for what they can do, not what they can give; let them insist on manly intellect and unimpeachable integrity, and *be satisfied with them*; let them get rid of the little jealousy that cannot bear to see men of their own class raised higher than themselves; and it is easy to see that a reform of immense practical worth will be effected. And what if such men should need to be sent free to parliament, and even supported there? Utilitarians may ask whether the work be not worth the wages; admirers of old

customs may read the History of England, while Christians may remember that 'the labourer is worthy of his hire.'

We cannot close this article without one more remark. Those dissenters who act upon our suggestions will most assuredly have to lay their account with annoyances and discouragements, which nothing but a calm and sturdy purpose will enable them to disregard. They will have to resist the bitter opposition of foes, and to encounter perils among false brethren. The serious rebuke, the contemptuous sneer, the heavy argument, and the light joke, they must look for as matters of course. Their views, their motives, their purposes, will be misrepresented. Their simplicity will be cunning; their honesty, knavery; their active prudence, meddling intrigue; their patriotism, unsanctified ambition; their firmness, obstinacy. Succeed or not succeed, they will be alike unable to please; they will be scolded when they do the one, and laughed at when they do the other. Many will turn prophets of their failure, and, according to a natural law, seek to make their own predictions good. And many more will predict backwards, find out that they spoke what they only wished, and wonder that any should not have expected what they themselves thought likely till it did not come to pass, for it is just as true that events predict themselves, as that predictions fulfil themselves. Earnest dissenters will, of course, often find themselves in 'ridiculous minorities.' They must, therefore, sow in hope. Often must they throw themselves upon the goodness of their cause, amid circumstances of depression, and often contemplate the certainty of future triumph to sustain the dispiriting impression of present defeat. In the face of such a prospect as is before them, the only course is to 'gird up the loins' for a long and laborious work. It is useless to enter on it in the dark. To 'count the cost' carefully is the only way to meet it. None will be alarmed at the prospect who would not flinch in the day of battle. True zeal will not suffer from a survey of difficulties. It will be braced up more tightly to encounter them. If it become less showy, it will become more strong; and what it loses in its branches, it will gain in its roots. The truth is, whatever we may think of it, that we are but at the beginning of a contest, and if we be downcast and impatient now, where can be the hope of perseverance? Let it, then, be distinctly understood, and seriously pondered, that the cause itself is a great and noble cause; that, being so, the harder it is to secure its victory—the more necessary is it to do so; that obstacles to the spread of truth show more clearly the duty of the true; that temporary defeat is in this, as in other cases, to be reckoned upon; that such defeat may become a means of success; that



no efforts can be ultimately without effect ; and that final triumph is secure. 'Gad, a troop shall overcome him, but he shall overcome at the last.' No right principles ever yet prospered without being first condemned and ridiculed, and causing loss to their promoters. Minorities have ever gone before, and helped on, majorities. Life grows out of corruption. Christ uttered a providential law when he said, 'Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone, but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.' They who seek to lead the age must go before it, and it is only natural that they should suffer for their superiority. These things must be recognized, and well wrought into the minds of all who would prove faithful. Familiarity with them alone can generate and sustain a fervent, self-denying, persevering spirit. And they who possess not that spirit had better be quiet. The Jewish law forbade the fainthearted to go out to battle ; and Christ has said, 'No man having put his hand to the plough and looking back is fit for the kingdom of God,' he is destitute of the only temper that can appreciate its principles, endure its defeats, and profit by its triumphs.

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### Brief Notices.

*Plane Trigonometry and Mensuration ; for the use of the Royal Military College (Sandhurst.)* By William Scott, M A , F.R.A.S., Professor of Mathematics in the Institution. Longman, 1845.

MATHEMATICAL knowledge, as far as it goes, is so perfect and well defined, that it is only in a subdued sense that new treatises on the old subjects can affect originality. For the purposes of military education, as for engineering, the teacher has to keep pretty close to practical methods ; and the book before us is contrasted to the Cambridge works on the same subjects by its *selection* of only the most necessary propositions, which are worked out with great fulness, leaving no steps to be filled-in by the learner. The Practical application to the purposes of Trigonometry proper, are delayed till all the abstract formulæ have been investigated and the mode of computing the tables has been explained. Although this is the more philosophic course, we rather question the advisableness of leading classes of students by it : the majority, we believe, get on better, if they are taught first how to use the tables, and afterwards how they are calculated.—But we suppose it is in the power of the judicious instructor so to employ the manual before us ; leaving out perhaps, large portions the first time it is gone over. If such is the intention

of the writer, it would have increased the usefulness of the work to schools, if he had placed asterisks at the sections to be thus omitted.

The whole book is got up with that careful attention to the delicacies requisite in the real work of surveying, which marks the practical man; and an accurate account is given of all the instruments which are needed, and of the mode in which they are to be employed. A knowledge of elementary Algebra and of the theory of Logarithms, is presupposed, but the use of the Differential Calculus is studiously avoided even in the higher investigations. We perceive in pp. 65, 84, 221, that the 'Algebra' to which the reader is referred, teaches not only the Binomial Theorem, with  $n$  any whatever, but the summation of the numerical series, ( $n$  an integer,)

$$1^{-2n} + 2^{-2n} + 3^{-2n} + 4^{-2n} + \&c. :$$

which is drawing rather largely on the powers of Algebra.

Considering the honourable position of the Royal Military College, and the hereditary experience of its professors, we cannot doubt that for the real purposes of mensuration the treatise before us is highly efficient. On theoretic grounds we are disposed to criticise a few parts of it. In the last twenty years, the doctrine of Infinite Series has been laboured out with great care, both in France and in England, and numerous sources of logical fallacy have been remarked, which in the older treatises pass unnoticed. We could wish that the author had attended to the *convergence* of his series, and in some other matters had more guarded his reasonings in the passage from the finite to the infinite. It is very common to assume that if every term of an infinite series becomes zero, the sum of the whole is zero; which however is manifestly false; for *infinity*  $\times$  *zero* may = a finite quantity, or even a quantity infinitely great. This fallacy is virtually involved in the process by which  $\sin x$  and  $\cos x$  are found in series, p 63. The writer indeed is conscious that he leaves the reasoning incomplete; for he says: '*Admitting* that (when  $\cos \phi = 1$  and  $\sin \phi \div \phi = 1$ ) their (infinite) powers are also each equal to '1 &c.'; which is an unproved postulate. But this is not all. It is easy to show by elementary methods, (though he has not shown it,) that when,

$$n = \infty, \left( \cos \frac{x}{n} \right)^n = 1 :$$

so that we may omit the first factor of the result, when we have assigned to it the form,

$$\begin{aligned} \cos x = \left( \cos \frac{x}{n} \right)^n & \cdot \left\{ 1 - \frac{x^2}{1 \cdot 2} \cdot \left( \frac{\tan \phi}{\phi} \right)^2 \cdot \left( 1 - \frac{1}{n} \right) \right. \\ & + \frac{x^4}{1 \cdot 2 \cdot 3 \cdot 4} \cdot \left( \frac{\tan \phi}{\phi} \right)^4 \cdot \left( 1 - \frac{1}{n} \right) \left( 1 - \frac{2}{n} \right) \left( 1 - \frac{3}{n} \right) \\ & \left. - \frac{x^6}{1 \cdot 2 \dots 6} \cdot \left( \frac{\tan \phi}{\phi} \right)^6 \cdot \left( 1 - \frac{1}{n} \right) \dots \left( 1 - \frac{5}{n} \right) + \&c. \right\} \end{aligned}$$

where  $\phi = x \div n$ . But in passing to the case of  $n = \infty$ ; so as to deduce the well known expansion of  $\cos x$  in terms of  $x$ , we cannot dispense with considerations depending on convergence; for though each term may be said to differ *infinitely little* from the result, yet the sum of those infinitely numerous infinitesimal differences may chance to be finite.

The mode in which  $\sin x$  is resolved into its factors, (p 82,) offends our sense of logical reasoning still more: for it assumes properties concerning an infinite equation, which are certain only of a finite one, and altogether neglects to inquire whether any *powers* of the factors enter the expression. How is the learner to be sure, that the factor to which the writer assigns the form,

$$\left(1 - \frac{x^2}{\pi^2}\right) \dots \text{is not really} \dots \left(1 - \frac{x^2}{\pi^2}\right)^x \dots$$

to say nothing of an infinity of undiscovered functions? In p. 63, the process offered for resolving  $(2 \cos x)^n$  into linear cosines, 'whatever be  $n$ ,' is not sound when  $n$  is fractional, without other limitations: and the assumption of series with an arbitrary form and unknown co-efficients, in pp. 219,—20, and elsewhere, cannot be regarded as *demonstrative*. We are aware that in all these matters, Mr. Scott follows authors of the very highest name: nor would we explode such reasonings, if offered as investigatory and only probable. In this view they are very valuable, but should be proposed as *needing confirmation*. Not but that, in the present state of mathematics, we regard the purely demonstrative methods as the best for learners.

Our impression is, that it would be easier to communicate, as a part of Algebra, the definition of a 'Differential,' and its application to  $x^n$ ,  $\sin x$ ,  $\cos x$ ; than to subject the learner to the long processes which Differentiation in disguise involves, and to the very serious difficulties of the Binomial Theorem in its generality.

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*Murray's Home and Colonial Library.*

1. *The French in Algiers.* No. 19.
2. *Darwin's Journal of a Voyage round the World* Nos. 22—24.
3. *History of the Fall of the Jesuits in the Eighteenth Century.* By Count Alexis de Saint Priest. Translated from the French. No. 25. London: J. Murray.

FEW serial works have established a higher claim on public patronage than Mr. Murray's *Home and Colonial Library*. It has been maintained with a spirit and skill equal to its commencement, and in the variety of its subjects, the talent and information of its contributors, and the sterling worth or literary interest of many of its numbers, has established a reputation inferior to none, and greatly in advance of most of its contemporaries.

The numbers now before us are a fair specimen of the variety and talent by which the series is distinguished. *The French in Algiers* relates to a passing topic, fraught however with painful inter-



est, from the light it reflects on the character of our Gallican neighbours. The volume is composed of two parts, the first by Clemens Lamping, a lieutenant in the Oldenburgh service, who joined the French army in Africa as a volunteer; and the second, by M. de France, a lieutenant in the French navy. The former gives an account of the military operations of the French, and the latter of the proceedings of the Arabs, and the hardships and dangers of their prisoners.

*Darwin's Journal* contains a history of the voyage of H. M. S. Beagle round the world, and is designed to furnish a sketch of those observations in natural history and geology which are interesting to the general reader. It is a second edition, condensed and corrected, of a work which has been cordially welcomed by the scientific world, and will amply repay for perusal.

*The fall of the Jesuits* is a narrative fraught with large counsel and undying interest. The event to which it relates constitutes one of the most instructive and absorbing chapters in the history of our race, and at the present moment, has special claims on attention.

We cordially recommend the whole to the early perusal of our friends.

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*The English Hexapla, consisting of the Six important vernacular English Translations of the New Testament Scriptures.* Parts I. and II. London: Bagster & Son.

IN our journal for October, 1841, we noticed, in terms of high and well-merited eulogy, the first edition of this beautiful work. What we then said has been fully justified by subsequent examinations, and we are glad to find that the public have so appreciated Messrs. Baxter's labours, as to call for a second edition. This has been carefully revised throughout, and an entirely new Introduction has been prepared, in which use has been made of the latest investigations of the topics included. We are gratified to find that the work is to be issued in parts, as it will thus be brought within the means of a much larger class than could otherwise secure it. The number of such parts is to be twelve, and the price of each, three shillings and sixpence. The Greek type is one of the clearest and most beautiful we have ever seen, and the six English versions of Wickliff, Tyndale, Cranmer, the Geneva, the Rheims and King James's are so arranged, as to be open at once to the eye, and to be capable of easy comparison. To recommend such a publication would be a work of supererogation of which we will not be guilty.

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*The Child's Commentator on the Holy Scriptures.* By Ingram Cobbin, M.A. A new edition, revised, corrected, and enlarged, vol I. London: Ward & Co.

THE plan and execution of this work are alike deserving of commendation, and few parents, who introduce it to their children, will fail to perceive the happiest results. It is at once lucid in style, simple

in its general structure, and richly fraught with the materials of scriptural information. Level to the apprehension of the youngest, it is yet capable of retaining the attention and of enlarging the knowledge of a senior class, and we can heartily recommend it to the confidence and good opinion of all. The present edition is got up with taste and elegance, and is illustrated with several woodcuts, which further increase its attractions to the young.

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*Political Dictionary; forming a work of universal reference, both Constitutional and Legal; and embracing the terms of Civil Administration, of Political Economy, and Social Relations, and of all the more important Statistical Departments of Finance and Commerce. Vol. I. London: Charles Knight and Co.*

THIS is one of the best books which have been published for some time past. It contains a vast mass of important information not easily accessible, and is executed with an industry and skill which will go far to prove its trustworthiness. It was 'suggested by the consideration, that the 'Penny Cyclopædia' contains a great number of articles on matters of constitution, political economy, trade and commerce, administration, and law; and that if these articles were so altered as to make them applicable to the present time, wherever alteration was necessary, and new articles were added wherever there appeared to be a deficiency, a work might be made which would be generally useful.'

This plan has been steadily followed out, and the work produced supplies in consequence what has long been a desideratum. The first volume is now complete, and if our opinion have weight with our readers, every one of them, and especially every young man, will immediately possess himself of a copy.

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## Literary Intelligence.

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### *In the Press.*

A Revised Translation of the Epistle to the Romans; with Notes Explanatory and Critical. By W. Walford, Author of a New Translation of the Psalms, &c. &c.

### *Just Published.*

History of England from the Peace of Utrecht. By Lord Mahon. Vol. IV. From the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to the Peace of Paris.

The Three Conferences held by the Opponents of the Maynooth College Endowment Bill in London and Dublin, during the Months of May and June, 1845, containing a Vindication of the Author from the aspersions of the Dissenting Press. By John Blackburn.

History of our own Times. By the Author of "The Court and Times of Frederick the Great." 2 vols., 8vo.

Household Verses. By Bernard Barton.

The Pictorial Gallery of Arts. Part 9.

Memoirs of Prince Charles Stuart (Count of Albany), commonly called the Young Pretender, with Notices of the Rebellion in 1745. By Charles Sonis Klose, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo.

Elements of General History, Ancient and Modern; to which are added, a Comparative View of Ancient and Modern Geography, and a Table of Chronology. By Alexander Fraser Tytler. A new edition.

Murray's Home and Colonial Library. The French in Algiers; No. XIX. Darwin's Journal of a Voyage round the World, Parts I.—III.; Nos. XXII.—XXIV. The Fall of the Jesuits, No. XXV.

Lectures on the Second Advent of our Lord Jesus Christ, and connected Events; with an Introduction on the Use of unfulfilled Prophecy. By the Rev. William Burgh, A. B. Third edition.

An Exposition of the Book of the Revelation. By the Rev. William Burgh, A. B.

Lectures addressed chiefly to the Working Classes. By W. T. Fox; vol. 2. Fourth edition.

Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. Edited by Wm. Smith, L. L. D. Part 13.

The Words of a Believer. By the Abbé de la Mennais. Translated from the French. By Edward Smith Pryce, A. B.

Memorials of Mercy; or, Scenes and Reflections. By the Rev. I. F. Barr.

The Telescope of the Gospel. By J. R. Balme.

The Modern Orator; being a Collection of celebrated Speeches of the most distinguished Orators of the United Kingdom. Erskine. Part 2.

Cobbin's Child's Commentator on the Holy Scriptures. Part 19.

Theological Study, and the Spirit in which it ought to be pursued. The Lecture delivered at the Opening of the United Secession Divinity Hall, Session 1845. By John Eadie, L.L.D.

Knight's Book of Reference. Political Dictionary; forming a Work of Universal Reference, both constitutional and legal; and embracing the terms of Civil Administration, of Political Economy and Social relations. Part 9. First half.

Dissenting Weddings under 'The New Marriage Act.' By the Rev. W. Thorn, Winchester.

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Clerical Cowardice; or, the State Church Indefensible. A Correspondence respecting the Truth of Thorn's 'Fifty Tracts' against the Church of England between the Rev. N. Nicholson, M. A., Rector of St. Maurice, Winchester; the Rev. G. Cubit, M. A., Rector of St. Thomas, Winchester, and the Rev. W. Thorn, Winchester.

The English Hexapla, consisting of the Six Important Vernacular English Translations of the New Testament Scriptures. Part 2.

The Old Bachelor in the Old Scottish Village.

Hogg's Weekly Instructor. Part 8.

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Works of the English Puritan Divines. Bunyan, with Life of Bunyan. By the Rev. James Hamilton.